





# Pacific Studies

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# PACIFIC STUDIES

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a journal devoted to the study of the Pacific—  
its islands and adjacent countries

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## FREEMAN, MEAD, AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CONTROVERSY OVER POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

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*Brigham Young University-Hawaii*

Inconsistencies cannot both be right, but, imputed to man, they may both be true.

—Samuel Johnson

Derek Freeman's *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (1983) attacked both the conclusions and methodology of Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928). Freeman set out to refute Mead's interpretation of a peaceful, sexually permissive Samoan society and, equally important, to discredit Mead's cultural determinism, the assumption that the roots of human behavior lie strictly in culture rather than in interactions between culture and biology.<sup>1</sup>

In attempting to dismantle Mead's legacy, Freeman has displayed an unusual sense of urgency, as if anthropology in general and South Pacific ethnology in particular would lie sprawling before this obstacle unless it were demolished at once. From a historical perspective, however, the sense of urgency appears decidedly narrow. The controversy over the nature of Polynesian societies has, in fact, been going on since Europeans first reported contact with them. Are Polynesians (and Samoans in particular) a peaceful, harmonious people who avoid the psychological turmoil of adolescence and the guilt of sex, or are they a hostile, violent people who repress the guilt and mask the turmoil? From the earliest extensive reports of European discoverers, the same questions echo across time, and the Meads and Freemans are there to answer, usually armed with philosophical templates on which to analyze the subject.

Disagreements over the nature of Polynesian society have thus often been disagreements over philosophical perspectives. However, the persistence of the double vision of Polynesian culture through generations of philosophical fashions reveals that the controversy transcends the changing philosophical perspectives. The most recent controversy raised by Freeman, that between cultural determinism and interactionism, is merely the latest in a long series in which the double vision has lived on, stronger than ever. Its longevity should reveal that beneath surface disagreements and philosophical disagreements exists a stratum of problems that makes the double vision possible. These problems are elusive of definition, but they involve the nature of cultural understanding itself. They involve our inherently selective perception, definition, and understanding of human behavior; the checkered knowledge that results when one complex reality is viewed vis-à-vis another; and finally the nature of the humans who use the philosophical templates.

In this article I propose to return to the eighteenth century to show that many of these blurring factors have affected the study of Polynesian life for more than two hundred years and may, in fact, never be overcome. I will begin by examining the double perspective that Westerners have fostered of the Polynesians, showing that we have from the first seen them as variously noble and ignoble. I will then outline the growing awareness of the difficulties of comprehending and communicating the ways of Pacific cultures, showing that crucial issues which surfaced then still evade conclusive resolution. Finally, and of special relevance to Freeman's attempt to discredit Mead's cultural determinism, I will examine some philosophical dimensions of Western interest in Pacific islanders. The eighteenth century saw many attempts to test theories of mankind in the cultures of the South Pacific. But then, as now, the relationship between a philosophical position and a view of Polynesian society was by no means simple; certainly it is rarely so simple that one can build or refute a theory on a single ethnography.

### The Savage: Noble or Ignoble?

The double vision of the primitive antedates the exploration of the Pacific, of course. In some ways it goes back to classical times in speculation about and yearning for the lost golden age. H. N. Fairchild locates its beginnings in Tacitus's description of the Germans.<sup>2</sup> In modern times it begins with the discovery of the Americas and the races who lived there. Marshall and Williams have noted that by the late 1700s "two streams of writing on the North American Indian were evident.

. . . To reconcile the two was difficult, and by and large compilers and commentators at home selected the materials which supported their own attitudes and prejudices."<sup>3</sup> George Shelvocke, reporting his voyage of 1719–1722, wrote of the California natives as a race "endued with all the humanity imaginable" and who "seem to pass their lives in the purest simplicity of the earliest ages of the world, before discord and contention were heard of amongst men."<sup>4</sup> Others pointed emphatically at a darker side. Miguel Venegas listed the characteristics of the same California Indians as "stupidity and insensibility; want of knowledge and reflection; inconstancy, impetuosity, and blindness of appetite."<sup>5</sup> In *The History of America* (1777), William Robertson took careful note of the competing images of native Americans. "These contradictory theories," he remarked, "have been proposed with equal confidence, and uncommon powers of genius and eloquence have been exerted in order to clothe them with an appearance of truth." The distance between two versions grew when vested interests were at stake (as in the case of commercial or ecclesiastical agents) or when philosophers used eyewitness accounts to further their programs.<sup>6</sup>

With the exploration of the Pacific, this cycle was set to repeat itself, perhaps with greater extremes. Certainly some early visitors to the South Seas found a paradise and people that far exceeded anything American in beauty, bounty, and benevolence. When Louis Antoine de Bougainville landed at Tahiti in 1768, he was certainly unprepared by experience for what he found there. But if experience had not prepared him, a set of popular ideas seemed to have. These were the notions—almost a cult of ideas—of the noble savage. The ideas had appeared in romances of the late seventeenth century; in the eighteenth Rousseau helped them spread through the drawing rooms of Europe by expounding his faith in the virtue of the simple, uncivilized human, uncorrupted by the state or church, in his *Discours sur les arts et sciences* (1749).

Bougainville's Tahiti is a lush paradise inhabited by a race of innocent, sensual, benevolent, and beautiful people. "I thought I was transported into the garden of Eden," he exclaimed; "a numerous people there enjoy the blessings which nature showers liberally down upon them."<sup>7</sup> Tahiti was a place of "beautiful landscapes" with a "vast number of rivulets" nourishing the "fertility of the country. . . . One would think himself in the Elysian fields," he remarked. He praised the beauty of the people, their cleanliness, benevolence, and peacefulness. "There does not seem to be any civil war, or any private hatred on the isle. It is probable, that the people of Tahiti deal amongst each other with unquestioned sincerity."<sup>8</sup>

Sexual behavior and attitudes took on a special interest for Bougainville, just as for modern researchers. He could not imagine a freer and more open exchange of pleasures. From his first glimpse of a Tahitian girl who climbed on board and dropped her covering to reveal the "celestial form" of Venus herself, he measured the gulf that separated this people from those of his home continent. Illicit pleasures did not exist because nothing was illicit, not even adultery: "Jealousy is so unknown a passion here, that the husband is commonly the first who persuades his wife to yield to another."<sup>9</sup> Sex was performed openly.

Slight hints of a darker side to Tahitian society emerged in Bougainville's account. He noted that the people were accomplished thieves, "more expert filchers" than his own countrymen. Fear of attack occasionally colored his narrative. But these hints merely added faint shadows to the bright picture. I note them here more as a starting point that would be developed into cloud and storm by later commentators who stayed longer or looked through different lenses.

Just as Mead drew lessons for American society from the harmonies of Samoan life, so did Diderot from Tahitian life as described by Bougainville. Bougainville's report confirmed Diderot's suspicions about the dangers of civilization—and his faith in the virtue of societies that lived close to nature. In *Supplement au voyage de Bougainville*, Diderot "raged against the wilful intrusion into pagan simplicity and happiness" and extolled the generous, unhypocritical ways of Polynesian life.<sup>10</sup> Diderot's response illustrates even more emphatically than does Bougainville's narrative the predisposition among intellectuals to see in the Tahitians their own lost golden age, lost innocence, lost innate goodness.

Cook sailed before the publication of Bougainville's account and so gives us another fairly fresh look at Polynesia. Against the Frenchman's record, Cook strikes us as impressively observant and objective. The dark side emerged in much greater detail to balance the euphoria of other reports. He noticed, for example, the disturbing human jawbones strung as trophies, the practice of infanticide among the *arioi* (a sect in charge of religious festivals), the class system, and, of course, the constant thievery. Yet, among a public eager for news of a yet noble race of men, Cook's observations served to strengthen the image of the noble savage that Bougainville had already created. The official history of Cook's voyage, collated (and embellished) by John Hawkesworth from the journals of Cook and Joseph Banks, strengthened that image even more directly.

In Hawkesworth's hands, the Tahitians emerged as more complex but

nonetheless still simpler than Europeans and more natural in their notions of right and wrong. "These people," he recorded, "have a knowledge of right and wrong from the mere dictates of natural conscience; and involuntarily condemn themselves when they do that to others, which they would condemn others for doing to them."<sup>11</sup> Given the status of the Golden Rule among his readers, Hawkesworth could hardly have given higher praise. He gave due attention to the sexual license, registering a degree of shock befitting an official account, but he cautioned against the imposition of Western notions of morality in judging the rampant thievery. On the whole, Hawkesworth painted a picture of a people not only "exempted from the first general curse, that 'man should eat his bread in the sweat of his brow,'" but altogether happier than their European counterparts: "They are upon the whole happier than we . . . and we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views."<sup>12</sup>

If the most extreme glorification of the South Pacific came from the pens of stay-at-home philosophers such as Diderot, then it can also be said that the sharpest denigration came from those skeptical eighteenth-century Englishmen who read Hawkesworth's edition of Banks and Cook and detected sufficient material to assure themselves that the image of the noble native was a dream imposed on a reality. Especially when it was reported that Hawkesworth had liberally amended Cook's journal entries and had drawn with great selectivity from the more sensational diary of Joseph Banks, those disposed to question the existence of paradise on earth were confirmed in their suspicions. To this sort, "soft primitivism" equated merely with "luxury, sloth, and degeneration."<sup>13</sup> Satirical portraits ridiculed the life of the pagans and the exploits of Banks among the female islanders.<sup>14</sup>

As more information arrived by way of other exploration, including from Cook's second and third voyages, both firsthand observers and stay-at-home interpreters amassed more evidence for the noble, and the ignoble, savage. Cook himself reported class systems and concepts of ownership that were more highly defined than they had seemed at first. The issue of sexual license came into sharper focus with the knowledge that not all classes participated eagerly in the prostitution of their women for nails and beads. The brutal effects of war and political reshuffling became apparent. Polynesians displayed a canny instinct for bestowing their hospitality on those who wielded power and could therefore return favor. Thievery, of course, continued. Reports of human sacrifice and child murder proved true. Frequent contact with other peoples and cultures led to more bases for comparison and there-

fore more guarded enthusiasms. Of great interest is the fact that the double vision did not vanish with more information; it merely partook of the information with greater selectivity.

George Forster, son of J. R. Forster who translated Bougainville's *Voyage* and who accompanied his father on Cook's second voyage, exhibited such guarded enthusiasm. He noted signs of decadence such as a fat chief who led a life of "phlegmatic insensibility" and "luxurious inactivity, and without one benefit to society." He noted the cautious spirit among the natives who hid their pigs from the Westerners and who "attend upon us" not without "interested motives."<sup>15</sup> Yet he also echoed the beauty of the land and people and wished contact with the South Pacific broken off before the manners of a whole people were irreversibly corrupted for the sake of the knowledge of a few.

The glorification of the islands carried on even after more detailed reports were disseminated and even after Cook's death. George Keate's *An Account of the Pelew Islands* (1788), though a late entry into the arena of eyewitness reporting on the Pacific, was, as Bernard Smith describes it, "the most thoroughgoing and elaborate presentation of the noble savage in the literature of the South Seas."<sup>16</sup> And in some ways the noble savage never died. As Smith has also observed, "the belief in the natural goodness of savages was, at bottom, a belief in the natural goodness of man."<sup>17</sup>

Those who held a contrary view, or who for some other reason were less inclined to experience paradisiacal visions, had their day eventually. It arrived in two forms, first in the death of Cook in the Hawaiian Islands and second in the natural process of reassessment and time. Cook's death gathered into immediate focus all that white men had feared about the Pacific natives: their violence, their volatile emotions (which could be viewed either as childlike and innocent or as inherently dangerous and naturally vicious), their disregard for life, their cunning and duplicity in relationships with outsiders, and so on.

James King, an officer with Cook on his final voyage, had this to say of the Society Islands even before Cook's death:

I rather think that whoever goes to this country will be mistaken in his expectation of finding it that Elysium which warm imaginations have paint'd it to be; writing a great deal about any ever so trifling subject has a tendency to give it a consequence it does not often deserve; thus too much has been said respecting the regular policy of these people, their perfect feudal system, charming & delightful Country & their happy lives. . . . The Country instead of being a delightful garden, is

a rich wilderness; & the bulk of the people must have their griefs & afflictions, if we reflect upon the number of human sacrifices, & by what means they are procur'd; besides the killing of a Teou (servant or slave) never suffers the aggressors of above that rank to any great Punishment.<sup>18</sup>

Cook was not the first to lose his life to savages in the South Pacific. J. M. Crozet witnessed the slaughter of his captain, Marion de Fresne, by Maoris in 1772 and delivered his understandably negative impressions in his *Nouveau voyage a la mer du Sud*. Note his particular venom for the intellectuals at home who brought the noble savage to life in their secondhand speculations:

Here then we have a picture of these primitive men, so extolled by them who do not know them, and who attribute gratuitously to them more virtues and less vices than possessed by men whom they are pleased to call artificial. . . . For my part I maintain that there is amongst all the animals of creation none more ferocious and dangerous for human beings than the primitive and savage man. . . . I speak according to my experience. Having been occupied with the art of navigation ever since my childhood, I have never been able to enjoy that happy ease which permits of those studies and contemplations by means of which philosophers improve their minds; but I have traversed the greater part of the globe, and I have seen everywhere that when reason is not assisted and perfectioned by good laws, or by good education, it becomes the prey of force or of treachery, equally as much so among primitive men as amongst animals, and I conclude that reason without culture is but a brutal instinct. . . .

At times I endeavored to arouse their curiosity . . . but I only found wicked children, and all the more dangerous, for being as they were stronger and even hardier than the generality of men. Within the space of a quarter of an hour, I have seen them pass from the most silly joy to the darkest sorrow, from calmness to fury, and return as suddenly to immoderate laughter. I have seen them turn and turn about, sweetly affectionate, hard and threatening, never long in the same temper, but always dangerous and treacherous.<sup>19</sup>

Thus we have come from the paradise of Bougainville to the hell of Crozet. Yet all the commentators, no less than Mead and Freeman, are

responding to similar societies.<sup>20</sup> How does one explain it? Partly, of course, their attitudes reflect different objects of perception: Bougainville and Crozet observed different pieces of a reality more complex than either was prepared to describe, perhaps more complex than any individual outsider (or even insider?) is ever prepared for. Partly, too, they saw what they were prepared to see, inclined to see.

We can appreciate the problems from a different perspective by considering the difficulties faced by painters who portrayed the Pacific islanders. One's first prejudice would be to say that artists should have a much easier task of transferring what they saw onto paper or canvas, that they escaped the web of concepts and words in which writers struggled. But not so. Artists, no less than writers, recorded as much their preconceptions of man and art as they did the objects before them. This was true of both landscapes and portraiture. Alan Moorehead has described the problem:

The temptation to paint the idea of Tahiti rather than the reality was very strong, and it was an idea interpreted in a European manner. In the Pacific the artist had no precedent to guide him, everything was new, the light, the strange vegetation, the colour of the sea, the Polynesian face and figure, the whole menagerie of outlandish animals and birds. To see these objects accurately, to divest himself of the European attitude, to refrain from the temptation to paint a pretty composition—this was the artist's problem if he was going to represent the Pacific without prejudice, and it is hardly surprising that the weaker brethren fell along the way so that their breadfruit trees grew up into English oaks and their Tahitian girls were transformed into nymphs surrounded by classical waterfalls in a soft English light.<sup>21</sup>

Bernard Smith even identifies the precise styles and precedents that corrupted faithful representation by the hands of painters such as Hodges and Webber. The problem of representation was further aggravated when engravers got to work to produce copies that would be circulated among the public. To a greater degree they furthered the Europeanization that the original painters had begun in their drawings.<sup>22</sup>

### Non-European Cultures as Objects of European Understanding

If painters and trained engravers had difficulty transferring images onto canvas and paper, it is no wonder that others had problems recording

events and behavior in words. But did these writers show an awareness of their own difficulties? They did, and to a surprising degree. The more perceptive observers wove into their narratives and descriptions their keen sense of inadequacy in the face of problems that plague us still: the perception problem (you see what you look for), the effect of the observer's presence, the lack of the insider's comprehension, the problem of time and the gradual effects of interaction with outsiders on what one observes, the lack of language understanding, and the reliability of informants.

Cook especially grew in his estimation of the difficulties of gaining genuine understanding of strange peoples. On his third voyage, he spent nearly three months in Tonga and had the advantage of an interpreter as well as an earlier acquaintance with Pacific islanders. Yet the following journal entry captures nearly the full range of difficulties I have just described:

It may indeed be expected that after spending between two and three Months among these islands, I should be enabled to give a good account of the customs, opinions, and arts of the inhabitants, especially as we had a person on board who understood their language and he ours. But unless the object or thing we wanted to enquire after was before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it from information only without falling into a hundred mistakes; in this Omai was more liable than us because he never gave himself the trouble to gain knowledge for himself, so that when he was disposed to explain things to us his account was often very confused. It was also rare we found a person both able and willing to giving us the information we wanted, for most of them hate to be troubled with what they probably think idle questions. Our situation at *Tongatabu* where we remained longest, was likewise unfavorable; it was in a part of the country where there were few inhabitants except fishers; it was always holyday with our visitors as well as with those we visited, so that we had but few opportunities of seeing into their domestick way of living.<sup>23</sup>

James Boswell dined with Cook and recorded a further example of Cook's candor as to the difficulties of comprehending life in the Pacific:

I placed myself next to Captain Cook, and had a great deal of conversation with him. . . . I must observe that he candidly confessed to me that he and his companions who visited the

south sea islands could not be certain of any information they got, or supposed they got, except as to objects falling under the observation of the senses; their knowledge of the language was so imperfect they required the aid of their senses, and any thing which they learnt about religion, government, or traditions might be quite erroneous.<sup>24</sup>

Even a supposedly simple idea such as thievery, which runs through so many accounts, withstands simple moral categorization when we view it in context. What effect did the presence of strangers with their marvelous possessions have on a people unused to such, and unused to Western notions of ownership? Did they behave the same among themselves? Hawkesworth cautioned his readers against judging too hastily. "We must not hastily conclude that theft is a testimony of the same depravity in them that it is in us," he warned. Rather we must estimate their virtue by "conformity to what in their opinion is right."<sup>25</sup> It is entirely possible that the visitors elicited a behavior that the islanders themselves hardly knew how to categorize, or that thievery served a function not apparent to outsiders.<sup>26</sup>

The more sophisticated observers knew well enough that the objects of their perception yielded at least two, and possibly many more, versions and interpretations, depending on where the emphasis was laid or on the point from which actions were viewed. George Forster admonished readers familiar with earlier accounts that "the same objects may have been seen in different points of view, and the same fact may often have given rise to different ideas."<sup>27</sup> But the fullest awareness of this challenge to knowledge is reflected in the diaries James King kept while among the people of Nootka. I quote from them at length because he circles around what I perceive to be the genesis of the great gap between Mead and Freeman. King begins by reviewing the barriers of education and artifice and language. These incline us, he says,

to form conclusions in the narrow confind sphere of our obser-vations, & what has immediately happnd to ourselves; whence one person will represent these People as Sullen, Obstinate, & Mistrustful, & another will say they are docile, good natured & unsuspicious; the former will prove his assertion from their Phlegmatic temper, from their unwillingness to comply with what has the smallest appearance of compulsion, & from their manner of bartering, examining with the greatest suspicious-ness your articles of trade . . . he will also instance the perpet-

ual Squabbles amongst themselves, & their taking by force things from one another. He who supports the contrary Character will say that they have a nice sense of affronts, & which their passionate & quick tempers immediately resent, that this makes them sensible of a courteous behavior, & which is returnd on their parts with perfect good Nature; that they are easy to be gaind by a mild & flattering Carriage, & that a diff't procedure will be highly resented, & that all this is very contrary to a sullen obstinate character; that the Quarrels amongst themselves are mostly of different parties & that they are the free'est from all invidiousness & deception in their Actions of any people in the world; shewing their resentments instantaneously, & totally regardless of the probable consequences of so ill tim'd an appearance of their displeasure; & these are strong marks against the charge of a sullen & mistrustful Carriage. The facts on which the above reasonings are founded are true, & I will add some other transactions between us which may enable any one to make what conclusions he likes.<sup>28</sup>

The application of King's words to the versions of Samoa put forth by Mead and Freeman is there to ponder. King is much more crude, much less scientific than Freeman, yet he seems to have put his finger on an issue that we can never fully escape, an issue that plagues study in the social sciences to such a degree that it could be said that Freeman, even after thinking he has refuted Mead on both internal and outside evidence, has only succeeded in refuting one partial formulation (and many anthropologists dispute even that claim) and putting forth another. As James Clifford has stated, "Ethnographies are complex, realistic fictions derived from research in historical circumstances that can never be fully controlled. A score of counter-examples may not discredit a convincingly illustrated portrait of a culture."<sup>29</sup>

Moving specifically back to Samoan culture, we are in a position to respect the problems of intercultural understanding more fully when we recognize that the phenomenon of double vision occurs even within the culture. Bradd Shore's excellent book *Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery*, a study that escapes many of the problems of cultural interpretation I am concerned with here, offers this key insight—that the Samoan view of things involves a "double vision" of numerous relationships and values. What may appear to the outsider as inconsistency or just disagreement is, in fact, merely an attempt to convey the sense of wholeness through the expression of viewpoints that are part of a more complex but total

picture. Indeed, Shore argues, the survival of the Samoan way may hinge on the Samoans' continuing to perceive relations among elements of their culture "with a double vision in terms of which they make themselves whole."<sup>30</sup>

From the reviews of Mead's and Freeman's works by those who count themselves as Samoan by birth or long association, one senses great irritation with both anthropologists, as if to say: well, you have lived and studied among us and consider yourself a scholar of our ways, but you still don't understand us. Your scientific ways are impressive and no doubt make your work difficult to overthrow by any who lack the same skills you have, but your views are those of an outsider speaking to outsiders. Freeman has waved aside these expressions of dissatisfaction with the greatest ease imaginable, for they are not made in the same arena in which he operates. But for all that, the expressions strike, in their simplicity and even naivete, at a problem that anthropologists must take seriously.

### Cases and Theories: The Problem of Proof

Thus Mead and Freeman belong to a line of commentators and interpreters who have perpetuated radically different versions of Pacific islanders. And like their ancestors, Mead and Freeman use Pacific cultures as testing grounds for theories of mankind. Mead does not apply the principles of cultural determinism as rigidly to Samoan behavior as Freeman asserts she does, and Freeman himself seeks only to discredit her theories, not sustain his own. But we can fairly say that both of them have loyalties to theories and view Samoan culture as a test case. I would like to explore this dimension of their work. Even though the ground gets slippery when we discuss the relationship between surface findings and underlying theories, I want to argue that we are justified in viewing with some caution those interpretations of culture put forth to support—or refute—theories.

From the first extensive reports of the islands and on through the eighteenth century, the South Pacific was used as grist for speculation on the nature of man, the nature of development that civilization brings, and the causes of one people's differences from another. What I would like to show now is that these philosophical templates are sometimes separable from the problem of double vision. Often, the philosophical or methodological assumption leads to the findings or creates the evidence for a hostile or benevolent view of a people. But equally often, the assumptions merely create a range of kinds of evidence. The

weighting, the tip of the scale from dark to light and vice versa, comes from the ends that the assumptions serve, ends that in themselves may not be scientific at all.

Even the concept of the noble savage illustrates the unstable relationship between theory and specific finding. Theories obviously predisposed their proponents to see either noble or ignoble peoples, but the link is not always a necessary one. Therefore, to refute the specific finding is not always to refute the theory behind it. Those who saw Tahitians as noble savages, for example, were often so disposed because they had special theories about the deficiencies of advanced civilization and the virtues that came from living close to the dictates of nature. And so, in a limited sense, a skeptic could strike a blow against the very notion of the noble savage by showing that the Polynesians were vicious, backward, and inferior in important ways to Europeans. Frequently, in fact, skeptical observers did ridicule the notion of the noble savage at the same time they reported their negative views of the Pacific islanders. But it is important for us to see that a blow against the picture of the Tahitians as noble savages is not necessarily a blow against the notion of an uncivilized people of natural virtue. Such a blow, if any more true than the benevolent view, does eliminate an instance that would support the idea of the noble savage, but it would still be possible for such a society to exist at some place or time. More plausible still would be the view that the noble and the ignoble dwelt side by side, intertwined and layered not only with each other, but with other strands of personality and culture, so that either could be perceived—or confuted—according to an observer's scheme and purpose.

One nearly universal but now discarded idea that saw testing in the South Pacific was that of the great chain of being. Naturalists were eager to identify in the chain the positions occupied by the hosts of unclassified plants and animals they encountered. And one of the most intriguing sections of the chain was man himself. What gradations of man were on the planet, and on what basis were they to be placed in the appropriate links? Hawkesworth saw in the groups encountered on Cook's voyages not only evidence of such gradation, but evidence that providence had established environments suitable for each variety and stage of man. But where some saw the Fuegians (inhabitants of the Tierra del Fuego) as vying with the Hottentots for the lowest human link on the chain before it rattled off into animals, Hawkesworth saw them as hardy, contented primitives undisturbed by excess possessions.<sup>31</sup>

What is interesting to note here is that once one approached the data from the perspective of the great chain of being, it made little difference

to the validity of the theory whether one saw the Fuegians as occupying a bottom link or a higher one. The theory did not dictate where any particular group would be found—only that there would be various groups occupying distinct positions in the chain. And the validity of the theory did not rest on proving the position of any particular group.

Among the most interesting theoretical viewpoints—in some ways a precursor to the nature, nurture, or interactionist positions taken by Mead, Freeman, and others—is that which seeks to find causes for different groups' behavior in the climates in which they lived, or in some interaction between climate and human nature. Were climates and environments only possibilities against which man defined himself, or were they strict limits within which he was essentially confined? Montesquieu was an early proponent of environmental causation for behavioral and cultural differences. His ideas influenced Adam Ferguson, William Falconer, Lord Kames, and also J. R. Forster, who was probably the best prepared observer and interpreter of nature to sail in the eighteenth century. In his *Observations*, published in 1778, Forster devoted several hundred pages to consideration of Polynesian peoples and, as part of that consideration, to the causes of the distinct ways of life they displayed.

Forster anticipated the interactionist viewpoint of modern anthropology by holding that environment itself could not fully explain the differences in peoples, that one needed also to take into account the effects of education and human intelligence put to use—what we would call culture. Instead of simply causing all differences between human groups, he saw climate and other environmental factors as simply the potentials and limits within which humans created their societies and ways of life. Forster saw that climate, which in some cases could be nearly deterministic, could in others, as Smith summarized, be "modified by the effects of education whereby man can raise himself from his primitive condition by his own resources."<sup>32</sup> Yet Forster, after careful observation, concluded that the South Sea islanders—and the Tahitians in particular—preserved more of "that original happiness" of man and were "more improved in every respect" than all the other nations visited during the voyage.<sup>33</sup> Others, including William Falconer, believed the tropical climate led to torpor and timidity.<sup>34</sup> Kames, with his own version of climatic interactionism, viewed Polynesia as a "sluggish tropical backwater, where mankind stagnated without hope of improvement and progress."<sup>35</sup> There was no necessary link between the theory and a given interpretation of island life.

Gibbon shrewdly argued that environment was the chief determiner

of culture among primitive peoples, but that moral factors were chief among civilized peoples.<sup>36</sup> I find this position thought-provoking, suggesting as it does that even interactionism must be open to models that may differ with each group studied. The Meads and Freemans who build or destroy cultural, biological, or interactionist theories through studies of individual societies would do well to entertain the possibility that each case may have its own explanation and therefore contain little from which to generalize.

The eighteenth-century parallels could be multiplied endlessly, but before I conclude I want to draw one more that seems especially appropriate to the case that Freeman thrusts forward. The parallel relates directly to the nature/nurture dichotomy and also to Freeman's attempt to refute a theory by undermining an interpretation of a particular culture built upon the theory. What this parallel shows is that (1) cultural explanation is inextricably woven into the problem of defining uniformity and diversity and that (2) refutation of an explanation of uniformity is very simple, requiring only that one show striking diversities where uniformity was thought to exist, while refutation of diversity is not so simple. Freeman, it should be noted, has placed all his faith in the proposition that to show that Samoans are *not* different from other groups is to discredit a theory by which they can be said to be different. The difficulty with his position, once stated in these terms, should be obvious.

Early in the decade when Cook was making his greatest voyages of discovery, Lord Kames was collecting material for his wide-ranging *Sketches of the History of Man*. In the first sketch, Kames tackled the problem of diversity among peoples and found climatic determinism as formulated by Montesquieu inadequate to account for it. His demonstration of this inadequacy was simple. He merely had to show that within a single type of climate, there existed groups with demonstrable differences for which climate could not account. To provide explanation for these differences, Kames posited a theory of races. The inherited traits of a race, he said, acted in conjunction with the external conditions to create the distinct behavior and appearance of human groups.<sup>37</sup>

Kames's refutation of climatic determinism was easy because he merely had to show anomalies for which it could not account. But how does one refute a theory created to account for anomaly? In the social sciences, this is a tricky business. It involves both the definition of anomaly and probability theory. (If this single anomaly does not exist, or is not in fact a true anomaly, does that mean there are no other anomalies of a similar order?) How, in fact, would one refute Kames's theory of races? My reading convinces me that we still have not reached a satis-

factory understanding of whether and to what degree races exist and how such inherited (or biological) characteristics interact with the physical environment and culture. This, in fact, is the issue over which so-called cultural determinism arose and over which Freeman has attacked Mead's work.<sup>38</sup> We have refined our theories a great deal, but the core issues are the same as those that earlier theory was created to explain.

To return to the immediate question, does even a valid refutation of an anomaly or "negative instance," as Freeman calls Mead's interpretation, disprove the theory behind it? No. As I have showed above, that course works only when one shows greater *diversity* than was thought to exist, but not generally when one is attempting to show greater uniformity.

I set these precedents before us because Freeman, in seeking to refute both Mead's picture of Samoan society and the premises upon which she conducted and interpreted her research, would have us believe that to eliminate one is to eliminate the other. Not so. Freeman believes that because Mead's picture of Samoans stood as an exception to the rule of troubled adolescence, an exception that opens the door for a strictly cultural explanation for behavior patterns, he can discredit the theoretical position of cultural determinism by discrediting the specific exception. Marvin Harris has stated flatly that "it doesn't matter a whit which of the two versions is eventually vindicated."<sup>39</sup>

To prove that cultural determinism is wrong requires more than the refutation of a cultural interpretation based on it, just as refutation of the great chain of being requires more than refuting the position of one link. What it requires is an alternative ethnography that does everything cultural determinism can do and more, all with a higher degree of validity and evidence. Yet this is exactly what Freeman states he does not intend to do in his book. And why not? Could it be because he is not much closer to a particularized understanding of the interaction of biology, culture, and environment than was Lord Kames? Could it be because it is very easy to talk in terms of theory of interaction, but very difficult to show just where the subtle webs of biology and culture tie together and with what results? Until we can do so decisively, more caution is in order in putting forth alternative views of societies.

Cook's mission to observe the transit of Venus failed because of the crudity of his instruments of measurement, but whereas astronomical instruments and methods of calculation have long since allowed us to measure the distance to the sun, one wonders whether the same progress will ever hold true in fields where human relationships and values are

the objects of understanding, where definitions and assumptions and methods so color every observation and piece of evidence. By returning to the eighteenth century, we can better understand why two such contradictory versions of a Polynesian society could emerge in the twentieth and why they will probably continue. I have suggested that the double vision results from our very humanness and from the scrutiny of one culture through ideas and methods—however scientific—that grow out of another.

## NOTES

1. I'm not sure Freeman has represented Mead's intentions fairly but will not investigate this issue in detail here. Mead used cultural factors to explain the differences between Samoan and American adolescents, not to give cultural explanations for all facets of Samoan behavior. Freeman attacks her as if she had intended the latter and therefore creates something of a straw dummy. Of most importance here, however, are the facts that the two anthropologists establish very different versions of Samoan society and also differ in their assumptions about how behavioral differences are caused.

2. H. N. Fairchild, *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), 4–5.

3. P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982), 191. My debt to Marshall and Williams goes well beyond the few specific references that follow.

4. George Shelvoke, *A Voyage round the World*, ed. W. G. Perrin (London: Cassell, 1928), 224–225.

5. Miguel Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California*, trans. from the original Spanish, 2 vols. (London, 1759), 1:64.

6. William Robertson, *History of America*, 2 vols. (London, 1777), 1:286–287.

7. Louis Antoine de Bougainville, *A Voyage round the World*, trans. J. R. Forster (London, 1772), 228.

8. *Ibid.*, 245, 252.

9. *Ibid.*, 218–219, 257.

10. Alan Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767–1840* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 1968), 64–65.

11. John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*, 3d ed., 4 vols. (London, 1785), 2:351–352.

12. *Ibid.*, 3:20, 2:256.

13. Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768–1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1960), 32. My debt to this work, too, goes beyond the specific citations to follow.

14. Smith describes these portraits, *ibid.*, 29–32.
15. George Forster, *A Voyage round the World*, 2 vols. (London, 1777), 1:296, 287, 285.
16. Smith, *European Vision*, 99.
17. *Ibid.*, 67.
18. James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook . . .*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1955–1967), 4:1390–1391.
19. Julien Marie Crozet, *Crozet's Voyage to Tasmania, New Zealand, the Ladrone Islands, and the Philipines in the Years 1771–1772*, trans. H. Ling Roth (London: Truslove and Shirley, 1891), 63–64.
20. Lest it should be argued that Samoa figures nowhere in the accounts I have reviewed, I present below the views of La Perouse, recorded after his visit to Manu'a in 1787 (*A Voyage round the World in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788*, ed. M. L. A. Milet-Mureau and trans. from the French, 3 vols. [London, 1798]):

This charming country combines the advantages of a soil fruitful without culture, and of a climate which renders clothing unnecessary. The trees that produce the breadfruit, the cocoa-nut, the banana, the guava, and the orange, hold out to these fortunate people an abundance of wholesome food. . . . They were so rich, and have so few wants, that they disdained our instruments of iron and our cloth, and asked only for beads. Abounding in blessings, they were desirous of obtaining superfluities alone.

. . . What cold imagination could separate the idea of happiness from so enchanting a place? These islanders, said we a hundred times over, are, without doubt, the happiest beings on earth. Surrounded by their wives and children, they pass their peaceful days in innocence and repose: no care disturbs them but that of bringing up their birds, and, like the first man, of gathering without labour, the fruit that grows over their heads. We were deceived. This delightful country was not the abode of innocence. We perceived, indeed, no arms; but the bodies of the Indians, covered over with scars, proved that they were often at war, or else quarrelling among themselves; while their features announced a ferocity, that was not perceptible in the countenances of the women. Nature had, no doubt, stamped this character on their faces, by way of shewing, that the half-savage, living in a state of anarchy, is a more mischievous being than the most ferocious of the brute creation. (3:72–73)

21. Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact*, 71.
22. See Smith, *European Vision*, 23–28, for examples.
23. Cook, *Journals*, 3:166.
24. *Ibid.*, 2:234n.
25. Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages*, 2:352.
26. Alan Howard and Rob Borofsky suggest that thievery and sexual promiscuity may have served in the struggle to test power and status, in “Developments in Polynesian Anthropology” (manuscript), which they kindly allowed me to read.
27. G. Forster, *A Voyage round the World*, 1:viii.

28. Cook, *Journals*, 4:1406–1407.
29. James Clifford, “The Other Side of Paradise,” *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 May 1983, 475.
30. Bradd Shore, *Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1982), 283.
31. Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages*, 2:295.
32. Smith, *European Vision*, 64.
33. J. R. Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World* (London, 1778), 286–287.
34. William Falconer, *Remarks on the Influence of Climate, Situation . . . on Mankind* (London, 1781).
35. Marshall and Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind*, 278–279.
36. Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, 7 vols. (London: Methuen, 1896–1900), 3:71.
37. Lord Kames [Henry Home], *Sketches of the History of Man*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1774). “Sketch No. 1” in particular addresses the issue of diversity and the adequacy of climatic causes to explain it.
38. David Schneider has pointed out that the nature/nurture debate “has always been deeply embedded in wider questions of race . . . around which there was and still is considerable ferment in Europe and America” (“The Coming of a Sage to Samoa,” *Natural History*, June 1983, 6). This is another reminder of how deep issues explored in the eighteenth century still evade definitive resolution.
39. Marvin Harris, Review of *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, by Derek Freeman, *Psychology Today*, May 1983, 24.



## CROSS, SWORD, AND SILVER: THE NASCENT SPANISH COLONY IN THE MARIANA ISLANDS

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### Introduction

When European adventurers sailed westward across the vast unknown Pacific seeking sea routes to the riches of the Indies, the winds and currents drove their ships toward a chain of islands that form a crescent-shaped shield before the Asian continent. Magellan was the first to come upon them. Other exploratory expeditions followed and the Islands of the Ladrones with their sister Islands of the West (*Islas del Poniente*) made their appearance on the sea charts and maps of European cartographers.<sup>1</sup>

In 1564, Spain undertook to establish a foothold in the Islands of the West, by then known as the Philippines, and sent forth an expedition of four ships with four hundred men that sailed from New Spain, or Mexico, under the leadership of Miguel López de Legazpi.<sup>2</sup> Several expeditions had made the Pacific crossing from east to west before Legazpi's and the presence and potential importance of the Islands of the Ladrones had been recognized. Not surprisingly, when Legazpi sailed for the Philippines with specific instructions to seek a return route back across the Pacific to New Spain,<sup>3</sup> he carried a commission as governor (*adelantado*) of the Islands of the Ladrones.<sup>4</sup> In January 1565, Legazpi's ships reached Guam, the southernmost of the Ladrones, and during

the nearly two weeks' stopover at Umatac Bay, the general formally claimed the islands for Spain: a cross was symbolically planted on the beach and mass was celebrated in a large native boathouse nearby.<sup>5</sup>

A few months after Legazpi reached the Philippines and had established the new Spanish settlement at Cebu, one of his ships, the *San Pedro*, with Father Andrés de Urdaneta as chief navigator, successfully completed the long-sought eastward passage across the Pacific to New Spain, reaching Acapulco on 8 October 1565.<sup>6</sup>

This crossing in 1565 charted the sea routes to be followed by Spain's ships sailing between Mexico and the Philippines for the next 250 years, thereby initiating the so-called galleon trade.<sup>7</sup>

The ships, which became the lifeline between Spain's two Pacific colonies, occasionally sailed through the northernmost Ladrones on the eastbound track as they reached for favorable winds at the higher latitudes. They approached the chain's southernmost islands only on the return trip from Acapulco to Manila's seaport of Cavite. In the early years of the trade, laden with men and supplies for the new Asian colony, the ships passed through the channel between Rota and Guam. As they sailed between these islands, they hove to long enough to barter with the islanders, exchanging bits and pieces of iron for water and provisions. The system of barter and exchange that evolved during the late sixteenth century between the islanders and those aboard passing vessels was destined to be refined and perfected by colonial officials a century later and would eventually lead to flagrant abuses by some governors of the isolated colony during the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries.

### The Colony and Its Lifeline

In June 1668, the *San Diego*, a supply ship (*patache*) making the annual run from Acapulco to Manila, off-loaded a small group of men at Guam, in the Ladrones. Those five Jesuit missionaries and their small escort of lay and military companions landed at Agaña, the largest settlement accessible to the ship. The contingent, under the leadership of Father Diego Luís de Sanvitores, formed the nucleus of the first Spanish mission and subsequent colony in the Ladrones Islands.

Although it was not until 1668 that a Spanish settlement was established in the Ladrones, the galleons sailing between Acapulco and Manila had been making regular stopovers there for more than one hundred years, usually during the months of May and June. During that lengthy period, hundreds of ships and thousands of men had sailed through the

islands en route to the Philippines. At least three galleons had been wrecked on their shores,<sup>8</sup> leaving substantial numbers of castaways waiting to be rescued by the next passing ship. Some survivors, however, remained and spent the rest of their lives there. Moreover, near the turn of the seventeenth century, several religious had jumped ship and lived among the islanders for varying periods.<sup>9</sup> Not surprisingly, by 1668 much had been learned about the islands and their inhabitants.

The nascent colony in the Ladrones Islands—immediately renamed the Mariana Islands by the Jesuit missionaries—was inextricably linked to Mexico and the Philippines by the Acapulco-Manila galleons. Not only did the islands lie astride the galleons' route, but the new colony depended on the ships for supplies, support, and news of the outside world. Very quickly the lives of the islanders, as well as those of the colonists, were affected by activities related to the trade.

Among those who could exercise authority affecting the colony were the generals of the galleons, men who commanded either a single ship or a convoy. In the early years of the trade, generals were appointed by the viceroys of Mexico, but soon the appointments became an important, lucrative prerogative of the governors-general of the Philippines, who sold the office to relatives or favorites or to anyone who would pay their price. More often than not, the general in charge of the galleon convoys was not a naval officer, although there were professional navigators and seamen operating the vessels. The officers in charge sometimes held appointments for the duration of the voyage only, many for the Manila-Acapulco leg alone. Such persons need not be familiar with the sea and subsequent tragedies, such as the capture of the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación y Desengaño* off the coast of Mexico in 1709, were often traced to this factor.<sup>10</sup>

Documentary evidence pertaining to the Mariana Islands indicates that the generals of the galleons had the power to appoint the men who were to be off-loaded to serve at the garrison (presidio) in Guam. Quite often the generals were called on to extend special support to the missionaries, particularly when it was necessary to make a show of force to punish or intimidate the islanders. Given the regularity of and the need for the stopovers in the Marianas, some ships' officers were tasked repeatedly with the responsibility of off-loading shipments of money and supplies loaded at Acapulco for the mission and garrison in the Marianas, thus becoming familiar with Guam's port people. At first, the off-loading took place at Agaña, a dangerous undertaking that often proved unsuccessful. Early on, instructions were issued by the Crown requesting the missionaries to seek a safe harbor for the galleons,<sup>11</sup> and

it was not long before the more protected port of Umatac became the established stopping place for the Acapulco ships.

During the last half of the seventeenth century, the Philippine Islands, Spain's most distant colony, continued to attract adventurous native-born sons (*peninsulares*) as well as their American-born cousins (*criollos*), toward whom the *peninsulares* often displayed a degree of disdain or superiority. They came as members of various government-supported religious orders, as well-placed military officers and civil servants, as ordinary soldiers or convicts sent out as settlers, and some as itinerant merchants seeking quick profits from the already well-established galleon trade. The men who served in the Marianas included missionaries, Spanish-born and others; regular military personnel, some of whom were very young; and convicts assigned as soldiers to the presidio. The assignment of convicts was in clear violation of a directive from the Crown.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, the soldiers' rebellion of 1688 against Interim Governor Joseph de Quiroga was led by a Mexican *criollo*, sentenced to serve time in the Philippines, but who found himself assigned to the presidio in the Marianas.<sup>13</sup>

Miguel López de Legazpi had established the Spanish colony at Cebu in 1565 and, within a few years, had relocated the capital to Manila, where he had discovered a flourishing trading center revolving around the yearly spring arrival of fleets of trading junks from Canton and other Asian ports. The Spaniards in Manila soon devised ways to control the lucrative trade of highly prized Oriental goods. They bought silks, porcelains, cottons, carved ivory, and a wealth of exotic items from the Chinese, then shipped them across the Pacific to Acapulco for transshipment to Spain and Peru. Payment in Mexican and Peruvian silver was returned to Manila aboard the same government-owned galleons.

Once the Spaniards had established a foothold in the Marianas—in the guise of a Jesuit mission—the ships from Mexico off-loaded not only men, but a *situado* and a *socorro* to support them.

The *situado*, funds drawn as a subsidy from the Viceregal Treasury of Mexico, arrived in the form of silver currency or clothing and comprised the salaries for the governor and the commandant of the presidio (*sargento mayor*), the payroll for the infantry, and the stipends of the missionaries. After the *situado* for the Marianas had been off-loaded, the rest of the silver shipment went on to Manila. In addition to the monetary support of the *situado*, the missionaries and the military received the *socorro* (assistance), in the form of allotments of necessities such as soap, wine, flour, tools, textiles, thread and cording, copper and steel sheeting, iron, domestic animals and seeds, and so forth. At first,

the missionaries were in total control of the colony and the delivery of the *situado* and the *socorro* was made to the Jesuit provincial. In 1681, at the request of the missionaries, the procedure was changed with the arrival of the first royally appointed governor of the Marianas, Antonio de Saravia. From then on, the delivery was made to the governor, who was instructed to distribute personally the funds to the infantrymen.<sup>14</sup>

During the early years of the mission, the *socorro*, in the form of personal, religious, and teaching necessities, was much more important to the activities of the Jesuits than currency. The governor and soldiers, on the other hand, were entitled to receive their pay, which was released from the funds of the *situado* and, although at times a portion arrived in the form of clothing, they could expect to receive a certain amount of silver as well. As there was no store in the Marianas nor anything to buy, the soldiers often gambled their silver away.

When Governor Antonio de Saravia died in 1683, he was succeeded by Damián de Esplana. During his first administration, 1683–1688, Governor Esplana seems to have begun to contrive ways to manipulate the *situado* that would affect not only those entitled to their pay, but also some of the people involved in the shipping networks that operated between the ports of Acapulco, Umatac, and Cavite as well.

William Lyle Schurz, in his classic study of the Manila galleon trade, indicates that a share in the profits of the galleons was the lodestone that attracted Spaniards across the Pacific, and that if this stimulus to migration were removed, further retention of the colony would have been difficult and expensive.<sup>15</sup> Because of the great distance from Spain, the governors of the Philippines could trade until their coffers were filled with Mexican silver in defiance of a remote government, too distant to exert effective control. Men in large numbers came from Spain, New Spain, and Peru to seek quick fortunes in the islands, hoping to return to lives of comparative ease at home. Some found themselves in the Marianas, where the colony's early governors were the first to find ways to profit from the galleon trade and their remote assignments.

Manila, as far as the Spanish colony there was concerned, existed for and because of the galleon trade. Nearly all Spaniards in the Philippines, many of whom were Mexican-born, lived in the city and profited legally or otherwise from the galleon trade. This was possible because of the system by which cargo space on the ships was allocated. A certain number of tickets (*boletas*), representing the number of bundles of cargo that could be placed aboard, were made available to eligible Spaniards—and for one reason or another, practically all Spaniards were eligible. *Boletas* that sold in Manila for 125 pesos could bring fif-

teen hundred to two thousand pesos in trade.<sup>16</sup> Widows received *boletas* as a form of pension; government officials were entitled to them; the clergy, through their allotments, operated the *obras pías*, which were charitable institutions that ultimately came to perform banking and financial functions supporting the trade.

Among the military officials who received *boletas* were the provincial governors. At this time, the Marianas governorship was a royal appointment and the islands were not a province of the Philippines, but a separate integral part of the Spanish Empire. Nevertheless several interim governors and captains-general of the Marianas received their appointments, by delegated authority, from the governors-general of the Philippines and, in their absence, from the Colonial High Court (Audiencia) of Manila. Surely, they enjoyed the same privileges, and perhaps more, than the provincial governors in the Philippines.<sup>17</sup>

The galleons were the vehicles that facilitated the Spaniards' presence in the Mariana archipelago, but the Spanish colonial government structure—based upon a complex interrelationship between church and state called the Patronato Real (Royal Patronage)—provided the organizational, financial, and military support that enabled Father Diego Luís de Sanvitores' mission to become a reality.<sup>18</sup> The Crown, through its Council of the Indies (Consejo de Indias), controlled all matters, secular and religious, in the Spanish colonies. Government and military authorities were charged with support for the *reducción*, the method used by the ecclesiastical authorities to Christianize or convert the indigenous inhabitants of the colonies to what was considered a Christian way of living. The *reducción* applied to the newly established mission in the Marianas, as it did to Spanish missions elsewhere, with the Church calling upon the Crown for the financial and military support to carry out its responsibilities. Because of their close relationship to Church and Crown authorities, the missionaries often addressed appeals and complaints directly to the monarch or members of the Council of the Indies.

In the Marianas, tension between the Jesuits and the military establishment increased shortly after Father Sanvitores' death in 1672, because, in spite of directives from the Crown and the Council of the Indies, the religious and military authorities did not always agree on the methods to be used in carrying out the *reducción* or on who was to issue the orders for military action against native resistance.

### **Native Discontent and Spanish Military Buildup**

Native resistance to the missionaries' efforts followed closely upon their arrival in June 1668. Basically, the tiny group of Jesuits and their Fili-

pino and Mexican assistants sought to change the life-style of a fiercely independent island people, a life-style characterized by long-established settlement patterns that depended upon ready access to the sea for food and mobility.<sup>19</sup> The evangelizers sought to change age-old customs and habits, and to impose urban-type communities that would make it possible for the people to center their lives on the daily routines mandated by the Church and its priests. The *reducción* sought to gather the people into village-like settlements (*pueblos*), where chapels and churches were served by a priest; it also required the people to abandon old beliefs and customs deemed contrary to Christian thought and behavior.

Perhaps the missionaries had not anticipated the strong resistance the *reducción* elicited from the islanders, but by August 1668—just three months after reaching Agaña—they had cause for concern and realized they would need additional military assistance and protection.<sup>20</sup> After a year of considerable hardship, the appearance the following June of the galleon *San Joseph* was a welcome sight. Returning to Manila from Acapulco, the ship carried orders to stop at the Marianas in order to offer support and to seek news of the new mission. It circled the island searching for the settlement of the Jesuits and, having located it, anchored off Agaña Bay, where it remained three days.<sup>21</sup> The missionaries made their needs known to the new governor-general of the Philippines, Manuel de León, who was aboard. Responding to their plight, Don Manuel left six soldiers with their firearms, in addition to the *socorro* destined for the mission.<sup>22</sup>

The following year, 1670, no galleon arrived. Native unrest continued and, in 1671, the small group of outsiders was forced to build a stockade for protection. This and their other structures were destroyed by a typhoon in September.<sup>23</sup> From then until 1674, the religious, their assistants, and their military escorts lived huddled in a single barnlike structure in Agaña.<sup>24</sup>

In June 1672, two months after Father Sanvitores' death at the hands of the islanders, the *San Diego* anchored at Umatac and left behind thirty soldiers, weapons, powder, and ammunition.<sup>25</sup> A *socorro*, consisting of supplies and other necessities, had been sent from Mexico, but no *situado* for the soldiers' pay arrived from the Viceregal Treasury. On 22 May 1673, the galleon *San Antonio* arrived off Agaña and off-loaded a horse for the missionaries and the small contingent of soldiers.<sup>26</sup> With piecemeal additions such as this, the presidio was gradually strengthened and, since small numbers of soldiers from the ships were usually selected to remain at the garrison, corresponding adjustments in the size of the *situado* and the *socorro* had to be made for their support—theoretically at least.

### Changes in Administration of the Colony

Until the arrival of the *Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro* in June 1674, the small military contingent at Agaña was headed by a captain who responded to the needs and directives of the missionaries. By this time, the mission was experiencing such difficulty with native revolts that the Jesuits prevailed upon the general of the galleon, Diego de Arévalo, to leave an experienced military commander with them.<sup>27</sup> Selected for the assignment was Captain Damián de Esplana, who was traveling to the Philippines. While he was ashore, strong winds came up, driving the ship away before it was able to unload all the mission's supplies—and perhaps before Don Damián could change his mind.

Esplana was a thirty-seven-year-old Peruvian *criollo* from Lima, a veteran of twenty-three years of fighting in Chile. He may have been typical of many men who went to the Philippines to seek rapid career advancement, to profit in some way from the lucrative galleon trade, and to return home within a few years as very wealthy men. His wife, Josepha de León Pinelo, was from a prominent Peruvian family and the couple were the parents of two daughters, María Rosa de Esplana and Rosa de Esplana.<sup>28</sup> Captain de Esplana held the grade of *sargento mayor* (troop commander) and thus became the first commanding officer of the Spanish forces in the Marianas.<sup>29</sup>

The men in the Marianas were now joined by several additional soldiers from the galleon and the new *sargento mayor*. The additional military protection enabled the missionaries to extend their activities beyond the limits of the Agaña compound. In June of the following year, 1675, the *San Telmo* arrived from New Spain and anchored off Agaña Bay. Aboard were Father Gerardo Bouvens, the new mission superior, and a contingent of twenty soldiers.<sup>30</sup> Although some of the men rotated on to the Philippines, the presidio in the Marianas continued to grow.

During the two years that Captain de Esplana served as *sargento mayor* of the presidio, he failed to ingratiate himself with the missionaries. Tension increased between the military and the religious because of what the latter considered the unbridled actions of the soldiers in regard to the islanders. Nevertheless, by the time Esplana sailed for Manila aboard the *San Antonio de Padua* in June 1676, the missionaries had a new house and church in Agaña, and there was a garrison of fifty soldiers and their commandant whose responsibility was to protect and assist in the *reducción* effort.

Esplana was succeeded as *sargento mayor* by Captain Francisco de

Yrrisarri, a Spaniard from Navarra who, because of the recognized need for someone to take charge of secular and military affairs in the Marianas, was also granted the honorary title of *gobernador* (governor) by the general of the galleon.<sup>31</sup>

Like other well-placed Spaniards who served in the Marianas, *peninsulares* and *criollos* alike, Esplana had influential friends in Mexico, Manila, and Madrid. After leaving the Marianas, he spent seven years in the Philippines, 1676–1683, during which he received appointments as provincial governor of Cebu and as *sargento mayor* of Cavite and its royal compound, both important and prestigious positions that offered opportunities to learn at close hand important details concerning the operations of the galleon trade and to become personally acquainted with people within its power structure.<sup>32</sup>

Important administrative changes were taking place in the Marianas while Esplana was in the Philippines. The last of two honorary governors, Captain Juan Antonio de Salas, completed a tenure of two years, resigned, and left for Manila in 1680.<sup>33</sup> Because the trouble between the missionaries and the commanding officer of the troops—now called governor—had continued unabated, instructions were issued that the governor was not to interfere with the activities of the missionaries and was to provide soldiers for their support only upon request. Earlier, in June 1678, the missionaries had asked the governor-general of the Philippines, Juan de Vargas Hurtado, to grant separate authority and responsibilities to the missionaries and the military commanders.<sup>34</sup>

Also addressed during those years was the matter of finding a better anchorage for the galleons, where supplies for the mission and the presidio could be off-loaded more easily and with greater safety. Agaña did not provide an adequate port, although it was the mission's headquarters, the seat of the presidio, and the principal settlement. Additionally, the supply ship that had long been requested from Manila had yet to arrive; when it did, it would need a safe port in which to spend several months awaiting seasonal wind changes before it could embark on the return trip to Cavite.<sup>35</sup>

Arriving on the *San Antonio* in 1679 was a very well-connected young aristocrat from Spain's province of Galicia who was destined to become one of the most influential men in the Marianas during the next forty years. This "monk in soldier's garb" was Joseph de Quiroga, a cousin of the archbishops of Santiago and Mexico City.<sup>36</sup> Among his mentors were the general of the Jesuits, Tirso González, and the Duchess of Aveiro. He had served as a captain in the Spanish infantry in the Low Countries and, although he contemplated a religious life, he was persuaded to sail

to the Marianas to serve as a military officer and provide a good example for the troops.<sup>37</sup>

With the abrupt departure of Juan Antonio de Salas in 1680, Quiroga found himself not only the commander of the troops, *sargento mayor*, but the acting governor as well.<sup>38</sup>

In Spain, the Council of the Indies was kept well informed of the situation in the Marianas by the missionaries and by government authorities in the Philippines, although nearly two years often elapsed before news reached Madrid from Agaña. In 1679, the Council decided that a governor was needed in the Marianas for temporal affairs. This man should be a brave, experienced soldier, a good Christian, and virtuous in his own being in order to discipline the infantry there. In making the appointment, the king was to consult with the archbishop and the viceroy of Mexico. The person named was to serve as governor of the islands and commander of the infantry.<sup>39</sup>

A royal decree dated 13 November 1680 appointed Master of the Camp (Maestre de Campo) Antonio de Saravia as the first governor and captain-general of the Mariana Islands. As noted earlier, with his appointment instructions were issued at the request of the missionaries that the *situado* for the soldiers should no longer be sent to the superior of the mission, but to the governor, who would receive the money via the general of the Acapulco galleon from the Viceregal Treasury of Mexico. By his own hand, the governor was to pay the soldiers in clothing or silver, whichever was best for the infantry.<sup>40</sup>

During 1680–1681, the time that Quiroga served as acting governor while awaiting the arrival of the royally commissioned Saravia, excellent working relationships were established between the military authority and the missionaries. After a typhoon destroyed the church at Umatac on 11 November 1680, Quiroga had a new one constructed immediately. Additionally, he divided the village of Umatac into two barrios, had a church built at Agat,<sup>41</sup> and assigned a captain to each *pueblo*<sup>42</sup> with the authority to rule in the name of the governor.<sup>43</sup> Quiroga, close to the hierarchy of the Church and devoted to its goals, had a strong personal commitment to support the missionary effort to Christianize the Chamorro people and devoted his life to this end. As a professional soldier, his role was to lead the military actions that would force the people to comply with the *reducción*, though, at times, the Jesuits themselves questioned his harsh and brutal methods.

The new governor, Maestre de Campo Antonio de Saravia, was an experienced soldier who had served his king for more than thirty years in Sicily.<sup>44</sup> He arrived in Agaña on 13 June 1681, aboard the same ship on which Quiroga sailed for Manila on business.<sup>45</sup>

During Saravia's governorship the work of the missionaries prospered, and the goodwill of the natives increased with the appointment of a Chamorro leader, Antonio Ayhi, as his lieutenant governor.<sup>46</sup> On 8 June of the following year, 1682, the *San Antonio de Padua* anchored at Umatac. Aboard was the first bishop to visit Guam, Fray Juan Durán, and the faithful gathered at the church of San Dionisio Areopaguita for confirmation by the distinguished visitor.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps it was at this time that the failing health of Governor Saravia was noted and reported to Manila.

### The Cavite Supply Ship

Since the earliest days of the mission, the Jesuits had asked to be provided with a small vessel for use among the islands. They also requested that a supply ship (*patache*) be sent regularly from Manila, because the galleons from New Spain, in disregard of repeated royal decrees, did not always stop at Guam.<sup>48</sup> Several factors accounted for galleons' bypassing the islands. If the weather was bad when they reached the Marianas, the anchorages at Guam, especially at Agaña, were treacherous. If a ship was running late in the season, it chanced being unable to enter the San Bernardino Straits before the impending adverse winds carried on the southwest monsoon began to blow. Should the galleon not reach Cavite with its cargo of silver, the Manila merchants would be hard pressed to make their spring purchases from the Chinese traders for the goods to be shipped to Acapulco aboard the summer galleon, and the Manila colony would suffer great financial hardships as a consequence. Such compelling reasons for not making the mandatory Guam stopover weighed heavily upon a general faced with the decision of bypassing the island or making the obligatory stop. Not only would he lose several days' valuable sailing time, he might also risk the loss of a ship to the treacherous winds and currents around Agaña and Umatac, factors responsible for the wreck of the *Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza*, which was blown onto the reef off Cocos Island as it approached the Umatac anchorage in June 1690.

Questionable dealings on the part of the galleon officers during Guam stopovers were noted in 1681 when Governor Saravia, arriving on the *San Antonio*, was required to pay freight charges on each of his personal cargo bundles. On such a government ship, the imposition of such a fee for transporting the personal effects of a government official from Acapulco to his duty station in the Marianas was illegal. It may be assumed, perhaps, that officers demanding such fees did so for personal profit.

Father Manuel de Solórzano, the mission superior (1680–1683[?]), complained that despite repeated royal decrees directing the generals of the Acapulco ships to stop at Guam, they did not always do so and that when they did, freight fees were charged on each cargo bundle. He also noted that the assistance items, the *socorro*, were not always off-loaded and sometimes went on to Manila.<sup>49</sup>

The governors-general of the Philippines had been instructed repeatedly through royal decrees to send an annual supply ship from Cavite to the Marianas. The first to be dispatched was in April 1681, but the vessel was caught in the adverse seasonal wind change and failed to reach its destination.<sup>50</sup>

In April 1683, Governor-General Vargas Hurtado dispatched a second small supply ship from the Philippines to the Marianas. The *San Francisco Xavier*, a single-masted sloop-type vessel, sailed from Cavite under the command of Esplana, the former commandant of the presidio at Guam. Also aboard was Sargento Mayor Quiroga, returning to the Marianas after an absence of two years. At the Embocadero, the mouth of the San Bernardino Straits, the ship was met by an incoming native boat from the Marianas, dispatched by Governor Saravia after it had become apparent that the Acapulco ship would not arrive that year and the need for supplies was desperate. After a successful twenty-six-day voyage from the Embocadero, the *San Francisco Xavier* reached Umatac on 23 August 1683.<sup>51</sup>

### Esplana's Governorship

As a precautionary measure in anticipation of Governor Saravia's death, the missionaries had written to influential friends and officials in Manila requesting the appointment of Sargento Mayor Quiroga as his successor. On 3 November 1683, while the *San Francisco Xavier* was still at Umatac, Governor Saravia died. To the disappointment of the missionaries, Esplana immediately presented his sealed orders from Governor-General Vargas Hurtado designating him as interim governor with the title of "Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief."<sup>52</sup>

Perhaps recalling Esplana's earlier activities as the commandant of the garrison during the 1674–1676 period of native unrest, Father Solórzano in a report described Esplana's appointment as "God's punishment to the Marianan people." He also reported that the new commanding officer summoned all the military and clergy to his house for the ceremony of his formal nomination: "He ordered that the document from the Royal Council be opened, and they read aloud his warrant, in

which the King conferred upon him the title of Commander in Chief and Governor of these islands and, in the event of his death, nominated Don Joseph de Quiroga y Losada as his successor.”<sup>53</sup> Father Gerardo Bouvens, in a letter to the Duchess of Aveiro, also expressed the missionaries’ disappointment at Esplana’s appointment.<sup>54</sup>

During the following period of nearly five years, 1683–1688, continual trouble plagued the relationship between the clergy and Governor Esplana, quite unlike the harmonious working relationships that had existed, first under Acting Governor Quiroga and more recently under the benevolent Governor Saravia. The Chamorro people were also increasingly unhappy with the “light yoke imposed by the faith”—a phrase that appeared regularly in mission documents—and the brutality of the military establishment.

A month after the galleon *Santa Rosa* had made its stop, and after Sargento Mayor Quiroga had departed for the islands to the north with a large contingent of soldiers, on Sunday morning, 23 July 1684, after mass, the largest, most violent, and most devastating uprising of the Chamorro people erupted. Before it was over, Agaña had been held in siege for four months and the revolt had spread to the distant islands of the north. The attack on the missionaries and the governor was unexpected. Governor Esplana, having attended an early mass, was strolling alone in the garden along the Agaña River. Suddenly he was attacked by several Chamorros. He was slashed on the face, stabbed in the body several times, and left for dead.<sup>55</sup> A number of missionaries were killed or wounded, as were many soldiers. After innumerable difficulties, Sargento Mayor Quiroga, in Saipan, was informed of the crisis on Guam and hastened to return to quell the revolt.

In early 1685, Esplana, who had survived the attack, departed for Umatac to await the galleon. The *Santo Niño* arrived in mid-June and left forty-four men and additional supplies for the garrison. When the ship sailed it carried messages reporting the revolt to the Manila authorities, including Esplana’s request to be relieved of his duties so he might return to Manila to recover from his injuries. Father Bouvens, now the mission superior following Father Solórzano’s death in the uprising, sent a personal emissary to relate the details of the uprising.<sup>56</sup>

The supply ship from Cavite failed to arrive in 1686, and the missionaries reported that “no vessel of any description has arrived from Manila to remove Esplana from our midst.” It was the missionaries’ belief, as expressed by Father Lorenzo Bustillo in a letter to the Duchess of Aveiro, that if the galleon *Santa Rosa* (which had passed that year) had pre-stopped and delivered its badly needed supplies, they would have pre-

vailed on the general to arrest Esplana and remove him to Manila. His letter ended with the hope that "God will soon remove this scourge with which He has punished us for three years."<sup>57</sup>

Although Interim Governor Esplana sought a replacement through his appeals to the authorities in Manila, the government prosecutor found no reason to accede to his requests.<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile, in Madrid, on 30 March 1686, Carlos II signed a royal provision and title for Esplana's appointment to the governorship of the Marianas, granting him the title of "Lieutenant General and Governor and Captain General of the Marianas Islands."<sup>59</sup>

In 1687 matters worsened between Governor Esplana and the missionaries and, once again, the galleon from Acapulco and the supply ship from Cavite did not arrive. In a letter to Father Francisco García in Madrid, Father Bustillo complained that Esplana had failed to punish the islanders who had caused the murders of several priests and had allowed them to go about unpunished.<sup>60</sup> The missionaries also continued to express that "His Majesty, at the Court of Spain, is still unaware of the necessity of nominating Don Joseph de Quiroga to the governorship, so eminently suitable for the post."<sup>61</sup>

Another letter, written in May 1687 by Father Bouvens to Father García, is filled with condemnation of Esplana and praise for Quiroga: Esplana "does not allow the good Don Joseph de Quiroga to proceed with the conquest of what he himself allows to be lost. Secondly, he discredits him [Quiroga] amongst the soldiers as though he were good for nothing, when in truth, the existence of the remnants of this mission is entirely due to Don Joseph."<sup>62</sup>

By February 1688, the situation in the Marianas was desperate and, as it was already apparent there would be no ship from either Mexico or Manila that year, Governor Esplana and seventeen others set sail for the Philippines in a native boat. In addition to Esplana there were four of his servants, as well as seven Spaniards and six Pampangos. Upon his arrival at Cavite, Esplana was arrested for having deserted his post. His defense was that, since there had been no supply vessels to the Marianas for nearly three years and, since he was sick and needed medical treatment and, since he was afraid the English had taken Manila because there had been no news to the contrary and, since he was, after all, a lieutenant general in the service of the governor-general of the Philippines, he had found it incumbent to risk his life in a small boat to go to the Philippines to offer his personal service to his commanding officer. He explained that he had left the government in the hands of Quiroga

who, according to the royal provisions signed by Carlos II on 30 March 1686, was authorized to serve as interim governor.<sup>63</sup> At the time of his trial in Manila, Esplana was fifty-one years old, a senior officer who had served the king for thirty-seven years. After a few months of judicial hearings, he was acquitted and began to make plans to return to the Marianas.<sup>64</sup>

A few months later, in the summer of 1688, the supply ship *San Gabriel* made the trip from Cavite to Umatac and carried a new *sargento mayor* to replace Quiroga, now the acting governor. Although the official appointment from Madrid had arrived in Manila granting Esplana the governorship, he did not sail for the Marianas at this time. Instead, he remained in Manila until the summer of 1689.

### Esplana's Business Interests

Esplana's year and a half in the Philippines, 1688–1689, was undoubtedly well spent, attending to personal affairs and matters concerning the Marianas' *situado*. While he was there, not only did the *patache San Gabriel* make a round trip to Umatac, but two galleons arrived from Acapulco, providing him with ample opportunities to discuss their Marianas' stopovers with the ships' officers. Surely, he saw to his personal investments in the galleon trade through the *obras pías*. He must have also formalized contacts—if not contracts—and made various arrangements with ships' officers, maritime officials, and personal friends concerning items to be sent on the supply ship to Umatac.

The annual supply ship from Cavite had been in operation since 1683 and its late summer arrival at Umatac had become a matter of routine anticipation, just as the Acapulco ship was expected in May or early June. There were years, however, like 1686 when one or both ships did not arrive, much to the dismay and disappointment of those who depended on their safe arrival. By this time, it had been determined that it was more advantageous, convenient, and less expensive to purchase needed supplies and yard goods in the Philippines than in Mexico. Only the *situado*—the silver—and special items unavailable in Manila needed to be shipped from Acapulco.<sup>65</sup>

In effect, the institution of the Cavite supply ship provided a new orientation for the Spanish colony in the Marianas. No longer must it depend entirely on the Acapulco ships for long-delayed supplies and men, nor be subjected to being bypassed at the whim of the galleon generals. The colony could now expect supplies, Filipino soldiers, and occa-

sional families from the neighboring archipelago. It would also prove to be an advantageous situation for a governor who had lived in the Philippines several years and who had many close associates there.

By this date, part of the governor's salary and most of the *situado* for the infantry seem not to have been off-loaded at Guam, but were sent on to Manila to be delivered to agents empowered by the governor and the superior of the mission to spend or invest on their behalf. Governor Esplana's agent in Cavite was Sargento Mayor Francisco de Atienza, the *castellano*, chief judge, and commanding officer of the terminal and ship repair facility at Cavite. The Jesuit procurator for the Marianas in Manila was responsible for the mission's affairs in that city.

By 1694, Atienza was sending Governor Esplana, on behalf of the Marianas' garrison, such items as bolts of various kinds of cotton and linen fabrics, bundles of tobacco, thread, silk stockings, cooking utensils, farming implements, gunpowder, lead, needles, and so forth.<sup>66</sup> Once the shipments arrived at Umatac, a portion may have been sent to Agaña, to be stored in the presidio's warehouse (*almacén*) or in the governor's store. The remainder may have remained at the military compound facilities in Umatac: in its *almacén* and in the *bodega* (store-room) of the Palacio, the governor's residence.

Esplana returned to the Marianas in early September 1689, when the *San Gabriel* made the yearly supply ship run from Cavite to Umatac.<sup>67</sup> Father Matthias Cuculino, writing to his provincial in Manila, reported that Governor Esplana's return to his post had not only abrogated the missionaries' hope of increasing the number of conversions, but had also caused them to lose the hope of restoring the mission to its previous state by bringing back those islanders who had fled to other islands—especially since Esplana had ordered the dismantling of the boat built the year before by Admiral Francisco Lascano.<sup>68</sup>

The missionaries also complained of Esplana's attitude toward Sargento Mayor Quiroga after the governor's return from Manila. Esplana had exiled Don Joseph for several months and had attempted to strip him of his title of *sargento mayor*, which proved to be impossible because it had been conferred as a royal appointment. In view of the continual disagreements between the two men, it may be that Esplana preferred to deal with the new *sargento mayor* sent from Manila in 1688 to replace then Acting Governor Quiroga. Only after Governor Esplana had been to confession, confided one of the missionaries, did he relent and allow Quiroga to resume his duties. Sargento Mayor Quiroga and the missionaries wanted to get on with the *reducción* and force the Chamarros to return to Guam from Saipan and Tinian, where they had fled

in desperation after the 1684 uprising. Disdainfully, the missionaries accused Esplana of lack of interest in the *reducción* and dereliction of duty, of spending his time building pigpens, fattening hogs, and hunting cattle. They grumbled that if the islanders so desired, they could easily destroy everything because of the Spaniards' neglect.<sup>69</sup>

Contrary to their attitude toward Governor Esplana, the missionaries looked on Quiroga with great favor because he was as committed and determined as they to force the islanders to comply with the *reducción* demanded by the Church and Crown.

By 1690, Governor Esplana was well ensconced at Umatac, where he had built his official residence, the Palacio,<sup>70</sup> and around which he had established an official military compound (*real*).<sup>71</sup> The missionaries quipped that the governor preferred to live in Umatac because Agaña was not to his liking; also because, in Umatac, his conscience was less constrained and he could do as he pleased.<sup>72</sup> The presidio's 180 men were divided between the governor's contingent at Umatac and those under the command of Sargento Mayor Quiroga in Agaña.<sup>73</sup>

Why would a man who had wanted so desperately to leave the Marianas after the revolt of 1684, when he had been so severely wounded that he had been left for dead, who had been accused by the missionaries of cowardice and fear of the islanders, who knew the missionaries were pursuing all avenues to have him recalled—why would such a man wish to return to such an assignment? The answer must lie in the business interests he wished to pursue.

### Esplana and the Wreck of the *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*

Two galleons appeared off Umatac at sunset on 2 June 1690. The *Santo Niño*, the general's flagship, was carrying Governor-General Fausto Cruzat y Góngora to his new post in the Philippines, as well as the *situado* and *socorro* for the Marianas. The *Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza*, the consort ship, was transporting a number of Franciscan missionaries and a large contingent of soldiers, including many convicts, from New Spain to the Philippines.

As the *Pilar* made its approach to Umatac, the lookout warned of the dangerous shoals off Cocos Island toward which the winds were driving the ship. At eight o'clock in the evening, the ship struck the submerged reef and could not be refloated. There was no loss of life and much of the cargo and valuables was salvaged, including the personal belongings and silver of the survivors.

Before dawn on 3 June, three hundred people were rescued from the

wrecked *Pilar*. The high-ranking persons among them, including the ship's admiral and officers, boarded the flagship *Santo Niño*; the others, including nineteen of the twenty-two Franciscans, were taken ashore to await the next ship. The Franciscans were lodged at the priests' house at Umatac and provided meals at the Palacio. Esplana attended to their needs and made them as comfortable as possible. The large number of unexpected guests presented serious problems to the island residents, native and Spaniard alike, in terms of the undisciplined men and the demands on the island's food supply.

These two Acapulco ships were the first to arrive after Governor Esplana's return from the Philippines the previous September, and he had prepared well to bargain with the ships' officers for their usual purchase of provisions. The missionaries, ever disdainful, described the governor's rude attempt to sell his hogs, chickens, and watermelons at inflated prices before he would order his men to off-load the mission's *socorro* from the *Santo Niño*. They reported that they had received only the wine, the flour for communion wafers, a few edibles, and the mail. They added that what little they had received was the result of their insistence that their supplies be loaded into the boats that were returning empty after carrying out survivors and salvaged goods from the *Pilar* to the *Santo Niño*, not because Esplana had ordered his men to off-load their *socorro*. They also reported that Esplana had hoped to make a favorable impression on Governor-General Cruzat y Góngora by presenting him with a gift of 330 hogs.

In spite of a short supply of food and water, the officers of the *Santo Niño*, mindful of the strong erratic winds that had driven the *Pilar* onto the reef, refused to tarry to negotiate with Esplana, who wanted to strike a bargain before he would order his men to off-load the *situado* and *socorro*. Instead, the flagship hove to several miles offshore and, when it became apparent that the unfavorable winds would not permit a safe approach to port, it set sail before daylight on 5 June without completing the delivery. According to the missionaries, Esplana was so surprised and stung by the decision of the ship's general to proceed to Manila that he sat down and wept like a child. He had sold nothing and he had been unable to impress Governor-General Cruzat y Góngora with his gift of 330 hogs.<sup>74</sup>

Governor Esplana immediately set the marooned soldiers and convicts to work, pressing them to the point of exhaustion as they were forced to hunt pigs, plant corn and potatoes, and perform other undesirable chores, many of which were directed toward providing food for the two hundred unexpected survivors.

Rumors spread among the men from New Spain that the governor intended to avail himself of their services to aid in the *reducción* of the native rebels in the northern islands, and that he had no intention of permitting them to proceed to the Philippines. Driven to the point of desperation by the thought of a lifetime of exile in the Marianas, approximately eighty men, including convicts, began to plot their escape by seizing the incoming Cavite supply ship and sailing it off to a safe haven. The plot was discovered and reported to Governor Esplana, who promptly had twenty of the conspirators shot on the beach at Agaña: eleven one day; nine the next. The following day, 13 September 1690, three others were executed at Umatac.<sup>75</sup>

As much as possible was salvaged from the wreck of the *Pilar*. In view of the wreck, a shipyard was set up at Umatac, where two ships, a frigate and a schooner, were constructed and a third existing boat was enlarged.<sup>76</sup>

The events surrounding the sinking of the *Pilar* brought to light one of Esplana's business interests in the galleon trade: the opportunity to make a profit on the sale of provisions to the ships that put in at Umatac. Settled in the Palacio in Umatac, from May to July Esplana was occupied attending to matters associated with the arrival of the Acapulco galleons, especially with overseeing the production and stockpiling of large amounts of foodstuffs. After the ships arrived and the cargo was unloaded, there was the matter of arranging for storage in the Palacio's *bodega* and in the compound's warehouse. From August to September, he prepared for the arrival of the Cavite supply ship, which would remain in the roads at Merizo until the winds were advantageous for its return to the Philippines. This could mean a stay of several months, during which the ship might make a run to the northern islands. The activity at Umatac left Esplana little time to spend in Agaña, where the missionaries remained hostile to him and where they were much happier to deal with Sargento Mayor Quiroga.

The 1692 convoy of three galleons—the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, the *San Francisco Xavier*, and the *Santa Rosa*—arrived at Umatac on 23 May under the command of General José de Madrazo. Later Madrazo reported that he had been entrusted with 11,028 pesos from Esplana—nearly three times the governor's yearly salary—which were to be delivered to specified persons in Manila.<sup>77</sup>

In November 1693, a few days after the departure of the Cavite supply ship *Santa Rosa*, on which six thousand bundles of tobacco had arrived consigned to Esplana, a terrible typhoon struck, destroying all buildings on Guam, including Agaña's Fort Guadalupe built by Gover-

nor Saravia ten years earlier, which disappeared leaving no trace of where it had once stood. The tobacco and sugar in Esplana's store was lost because it had been engulfed by the sea and had rotted. In a letter to Francisco de Atienza, the *castellano* of the port of Cavite who held Esplana's power of attorney, the governor wrote concerning the tobacco and sugar, "I am happy that it was on my account and that I am the loser because it was the first commission in which we were involved and I would have been sorry to have had to make a bad report."<sup>78</sup> Esplana's letter to Atienza seems to imply that, at least, the sale of tobacco and sugar from the governor's store was part of a business arrangement between the two men.

Prior to the November 1693 typhoon, Governor Esplana had notified the Manila authorities not to send the supply ship the following summer, 1694, because there was a sufficient stock of supplies on the island.<sup>79</sup> The missionaries later inferred that the attempt to delay the supply ship had something to do with Esplana's wish to deplete his store of supplies before new ones arrived.

When the *Santo Cristo de Burgos* was lost on its 1693 run from Cavite to Acapulco, it was later revealed that Esplana was among those who had suffered heavy financial losses from investments in its cargo space, which he would have arranged through Atienza and the *obras pías*, the financing institutions operated by the Jesuits and the Franciscans in Manila.

The galleon *San Joseph*, which sailed from Cavite for Acapulco in late June 1694, commanded by General José de Madrazo, was wrecked at Luban, just outside the entrance to Manila Bay, with a loss of four hundred lives and twelve thousand bundles of cargo. The disaster was an enormous loss to the city of Manila.<sup>80</sup> It also represented a loss to Esplana, who had invested in cargo space through the *obras pías*.

### **Esplana's Legacy**

On 16 August 1694, at the age of fifty-seven, Governor Damián de Esplana died, probably at his Palacio in Umatac, as he had been in failing health for some time. Because of the loss of the Acapulco-bound galleon *San Joseph* at Manila a month earlier, there was no large galleon that called at Umatac the following spring and the news of his death was probably carried to Cavite aboard a smaller vessel of the same name, *San Joseph*, a *patache* that stopped at Umatac from Acapulco in 1695.

Quiroga became the acting governor once again, in accordance with

the provisions authorized by Carlos II concerning the governorship of the Marianas. When Quiroga collected Esplana's papers, his will, and the garrison account books at his home in Umatac, in order to forward them to the proper authorities in Manila, the former governor's wealth and involvement in the Acapulco-Umatac-Cavite shipping activities were revealed.<sup>81</sup> According to Quiroga's calculations after reviewing Esplana's accounts, the deceased governor had, over a period of three years—1691, 1692, and 1694—kept 56,066 pesos for himself from a total of 108,991 pesos sent for the infantry's *situado*. The governor's yearly salary had been four thousand pesos.<sup>82</sup>

The various charges against Esplana concerning his seeming manipulations of the *situado* resulted in a decision by Manila authorities to subject his estate to a *residencia*.<sup>83</sup> Among the ways in which the governor was thought to have manipulated the *situado* was that he bought certain articles, such as tobacco, in Acapulco or Manila, charging them against his own salary. When they were delivered in Guam, he was able to demand from the men at the presidio whatever price he chose. He either kept running accounts for individuals, in which case the amount was deducted from the man's pay, or there were cash payments.<sup>84</sup> Either way, the governor set the price.

It seems quite clear that a share in the galleon trade was the lodestone that had enticed Esplana to return to the Marianas and specifically to the port of Umatac. From there he was able to manipulate, quite undisturbed, the expenditures and investment of the *situado*, funds he received as governor from the Viceroyal Treasury of Mexico for his own salary and for the payroll of the men at the presidio.

When Esplana first served in the Marianas as the *sargento mayor*, 1674–1676, he established a reputation for brutally subduing the discontented islanders. During his first administration as governor, especially during 1683–1684, he was again responsible for ruthless attacks on the islanders. After the uprising of 1684, he sought refuge in Umatac, away from the continual demands of the missionaries who wanted him to vigorously pursue the *reducción* with its attendant military forays. During the 1688–1689 interim in his governorship, when he indubitably renewed his contacts in Manila, Esplana evidently decided to return to the Marianas, not because he was anxious to get on with the *reducción*, but because he sought to increase his personal fortune. He succeeded in doing so in several ways: by selling provisions at inflated prices to the officers of the ships that stopped at Umatac, by setting up a store in Agaña where the funds of the *situado* could be manipulated by skimming a profit from the sale of goods purchased at a discount in Manila

and sold at inflated prices to the men of the presidio, and by continuing his investment in cargo space aboard the galleons through his friend Atienza and the *obras pías*.

In sum, by drawing on his many contacts with business associates in Manila, with the port authorities in Cavite, with the officers of the Acapulco galleons, with the officers of the Cavite supply ships, and with the banking facilities of the religious' *obras pías*, Esplana amassed considerable wealth, which he invested primarily in the Philippines.<sup>85</sup> Death robbed Esplana of the opportunity to return to his native Peru and to his family as a man of considerable wealth—if, indeed, he had intended to do so. The methods he had refined for exploiting the funds sent to the governor of the Marianas for the support of the presidio did not die with him, however. His successors would continue to perfect them, some with great success, until almost the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>86</sup>

The missionaries, ever watchful and ever critical of the activities of the governors, were careful to inform members of the Jesuit hierarchy, members of the Council of the Indies, and the monarch himself of their shortcomings. In May 1689, Father Gerardo Bouvens, associated with the mission from 1675 until his death approximately forty years later, wrote to Father Antonio Xaramillo, the Madrid and Rome procurator, setting forth twenty-four points that had to do with the kind of man who should be appointed to the governorship of the Marianas, the activities with which he should and should not be associated, the kind of treatment that the men at the garrison should receive, and the manner in which the islanders should be treated. He cautioned that the *situado* for the infantry should not be sent in silver, but in clothing and other necessities. He noted that silver could be utilized by a greedy governor, as had already happened when one had sold a single leaf of tobacco for at least six reales. In effect, Bouvens anticipated or had observed at firsthand Governor Esplana's manipulation of the *situado*.<sup>87</sup>

Much to the dismay of the missionaries, the man appointed to succeed Esplana as Lieutenant General and Governor-General of the Mariana Islands was not their favorite, Joseph de Quiroga, who they knew would spare nothing to bring about the *reducción* of the Chamorro rebels. Instead, the new governor was to be José de Madrazo, the former general who had commanded several galleons that had stopped at Umatac during Esplana's administration and one of the late governor's associates.

Pending the arrival of Governor-designate Madrazo, Quiroga served a third term as acting governor, from 1694 to 1696. No longer obstructed by Governor Esplana's lack of interest and ineffectual support, the

missionaries and Acting Governor Quiroga vigorously proceeded with the *reducción*. At the Battle of Aguiguan Island in 1695, Quiroga's forces savagely crushed the last pocket of native resistance, thereby insuring the success of the *reducción*, at the cost of the near-annihilation of the Chamorro people.

The behavior of Esplana and his early successors did not go unnoticed in Madrid. Early in the 1700s, a royal decree was forwarded to the president and the members of the Royal Audiencia in Manila stating that the Council of the Indies condemned the governors of the Marianas for neglecting to further the conquest, for misadministration of the *situado*, for maltreatment of the islanders, for imposing unauthorized royal fees, and for openly engaging in commercial activities by operating a store (*tienda abierta*). The decree also stated that, although such abuses deserved to be punished, His Majesty had chosen to overlook them, charging the Audiencia to be aware and correct them in the future.<sup>88</sup>

The Cross and the Sword had worked their magic in the Marianas. Silver would continue to beckon to those who "come for the same reason that has caused most of us to have lost our souls already"<sup>89</sup>—greed.

## NOTES

1. Ferdinand Magellan's men saw the islanders' vessels before they sighted the islands themselves and because of the unusual speed and the shape of the sails, named them the Islands of the Lateen Sails (*Islas de las Velas Latinas*). This name immediately gave way to an epithet recalling an altercation over the captain's skiff, and the group became best known as the Islands of Thieves (*Islas de los Ladrones*).

2. Legazpi's flagship was the *San Pedro*. Others in the fleet were the *San Pablo*, *San Juan*, and *San Lucas*. A brigantine (*patache*) was stored on the deck of the *San Pedro* for use in shallow waters. See Andre Gschaedler, "Mexico and the Pacific, 1540–1565" (Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1954), 132.

3. *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar* (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), vol. 2, pt. 1, Filipinas, xxi.

4. Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter cited as AGI), (typescript copy, Micronesian Area Research Center, Spanish Documents Collection, University of Guam [hereafter cited as MARC]), Filipinas 339, Libro 1, fol. 7.

5. *Colección de documentos inéditos*, vol. 2, pt. 1, Filipinas, 251.

6. Donald D. Brand, "Geographical Exploration by the Spaniards," in *The Pacific Basin*, ed. Herman R. Friis (New York, 1967), 130.

7. After emerging from the Philippine Islands at the San Bernardino Straits, the east-bound ships headed northeast toward Japan. Once they reached certain northern latitudes, the prevailing winds propelled them to the American continent; then they headed

south to Mexico's ports of Navidad and Acapulco. The return route westward followed a parallel south of Acapulco and, in the early years of the trade, after sailing approximately sixty days, the ships sought a landfall at the island of San Barolomé, today Taongi, the northernmost of the Marshall Islands. Then they set course for the Ladrones and, from there, on to the Philippines.

8. One of Legazpi's ships, the *San Pablo*, was making a second run from Cebu to New Spain in 1568 when it was lost in the Ladrones (Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robinson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* [Cleveland, 1903–1909], 3:33). After battling severe storms off Japan, the *Santa Margarita*, sailing from Cavite to Acapulco, was wrecked on the north coast of Rota in early 1601 (M. G. Driver, "Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora and His Account of the Mariana Islands," *Journal of Pacific History* 18, no. 3 [July 1983]: 200). The *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, also sailing from Cavite to Acapulco, was wrecked off Saipan's Aagingan Point in 1638 (W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* [New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959], 259).

9. At least four Franciscan friars, including Fray Antonio de los Angeles and Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, remained in the Marianas for varying periods of time between 1596 and 1602. Years before, Gonzalo de Vigo, originally with the Magellan expedition, spent four years in the islands between 1522 and 1526 (M. G. Driver, trans., "The Account of a Discalced Friar's Stay in the Islands of the Ladrones," chapter 19 of *Historia de las islas del archipiélago Filipino y reinos de la China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón* by Marcelo Ribadeneira [1947], *Guam Recorder* n.s. 7 [1977]: 19–21; Driver, "Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora," 198–216).

10. Schurz, 202.

11. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (hereafter cited as AGN) (MARC), Reales Cédulas, vol. 12, Expediente 86, 1671.

12. Ibid., vol. 20, Expediente 45, 1684.

13. The revolt was the result of Captain Quiroga's unrelenting harsh treatment of the men under his command (*ibid.*, vol. 22, Expediente 749, 1689).

14. AGI, Filipinas 331, MARC typescript pp. 59–61.

15. Schurz, 155–172.

16. *Ibid.*, 166.

17. Others who made enormous profits from the trade, legally or illegally, were the commanding officers of Cavite's Fort San Felipe, the *castellanos*, who were the officers in charge of the terminal facilities (see Margaret M. Higgins, "Old Cavite, Its Place in Philippine History" [unpublished manuscript, Micronesian Area Research Center, Pacific Collection, University of Guam, 1929], 77). Minor officials of other installations, including a shipbuilding and repair center, also found ways to involve themselves in the port's commercial activities. The last stop prior to the ships' arrival at Cavite was in the Marianas and, by the late 1680s, this was the port of Umatac. Consequently, the network of people intimately concerned with the galleons' port operations came to include those stationed in the Marianas, especially those at the military compound (*real*) at Umatac.

18. The Patronato Real referred to concessions made by the Papacy to the Spanish Crown in return for undertaking Christianization efforts among the multitudes of indigenous peo-

ples in Spain's American and Oceanic possessions. In return, the Spanish Crown was given the right to make certain ecclesiastical appointments. Because of the reciprocal responsibilities of the Spanish Crown, Father Sanvitores was able to call upon various figures for support for his Marianas mission, including his father, who was in charge of the Royal Spanish Treasury; the Queen's confessor, who was a Jesuit; the Duchess of Aveiro, a patroness of Jesuit missions throughout the Spanish colonies; and other influential persons in church and royal circles.

19. Driver, "Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora," 198–216.
20. Francisco García, *Vida y Martyrio del Venerable Padre Diego Luís de Sanvitores de la Compañía de Jesús Primer Apóstol de las Islas Marianas y Sucesos de estas Islas desde el de Mil Seiscientos y Sesenta y Ocho, hasta el de Mil Seiscientos y Ochenta y Uno* (Madrid, 1683), 217–229.
21. W. C. Repetti, "A Supplementary Note to the First History of Guam," *Guam Recorder* 17 (1940): 91.
22. Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid (hereafter cited as BP) (MARC), MS. 2866, Manuel Solórzano, "Descripción de las Islas Marianas," 1683, fol. 122.
23. F. García, 283–287.
24. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 259.
25. Luís de Ibáñez y García, *Historia de las islas Marianas con su derrotero, y de las Carolinas y Palaos, desde el descubrimiento por Magallanes en el año 1521, hasta nuestros días, por el Coronel de Infantería D. Luís de Ibáñez y García* (Granada, 1886), 46.
26. Archivo Histórico Provincia de Aragón (hereafter cited as AHPA) (MARC), Luís de Morales, "Historia de las Islas Marianas," 1737, fol. 13.
27. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (hereafter cited as ARSI) (MARC), Filipinas 13, Alonzo López, "Relación de las Yslas Marianas desde el mes de junio de 74 hasta junio de 75," fol. 1.
28. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript p. 99.
29. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 30.
30. L. Ibáñez y García, 51.
31. The general of the galleon, Antonio Nieto, was a staunch friend of the missionaries. In addition to Captain Yrrisarri, the galleon left five religious, fourteen soldiers, and—adding to the semblance of permanence of the colonial enterprise—two families, one with three children. See ARSI, Filipinas 13, Gerardo Bouvens, "Relación de lo sucedido en la Misión de las Islas Marianas desde 10 de Junio de 1676 hasta Mayo de 1677," fols. 1–2.
32. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 212.
33. Newberry Library, Ayer Collection (MARC), letter, Manuel de Solórzano, S. J., to Francisco García, 1681.
34. AGI, Filipinas 11, MARC typescript pp. 20–25.
35. Another shipping concern had to do with the galleons that, in violation of their orders, had occasionally bypassed the islands. In order to ensure that the stopover was made and

that the ships did not pass unknowingly at night, the authorities in the Marianas were requested to keep large fires burning on mountain tops in northern Guam during the month of June. See AGI, Filipinas 11, MARC typescript p. 27.

36. W. C. Repetti, trans., "The Uprising in Guam in 1684," *Guam Recorder* 18 (1941): 124.

37. Maggs Bros., comps. and trans., *Bibliotheca Americana et Philippina*, part 3, catalog no. 442 (London: Maggs Bros., 1923), letter, Padre Francisco Salgado to Duchess of Aveiro, Sevilla, 14 June 1678, p. 117. This catalogue, published by a London dealer of rare books and manuscripts, contains detailed listings of letters and other materials for sale, each accompanied by a translation or summary in English.

38. A lengthy list of instructions had been prepared for him by the governor-general of the Philippines, Juan de Vargas Hurtado, during his stopover aboard the *Santa Rosa*, the ship on which Salas departed. See L. Ibáñez y García, 180.

39. AGI, Filipinas 101, MARC typescript p. 83.

40. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript p. 207.

41. AHPA, Felipe de la Corte, "Notas útiles para la Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Filipinas referentes a la conquista espiritual de Marianas . . .," 1875, fol. 36.

42. A *pueblo* was a settlement that had a church and priest and was the seat of a church district, which might include several smaller settlements.

43. F. García, 587.

44. W. C. Repetti, trans., "Relation of the Events in the Marianas Mission from June, 1681, to June, 1682," *The Catholic Historical Review* 31 (1946): 433.

45. By this date, the garrison at Guam had grown substantially and it was possible to service the galleons at Umatac, although some off-loading continued at Agaña where the treacherous channel often made the operation difficult, if not impossible. Perhaps inadequate storage facilities at Umatac and problems related to the transportation of goods to the presidio's headquarters were responsible for the continued attempts to make deliveries at Agaña. See AGI, Filipinas 13, MARC typescript p. 97.

46. Antonio Ayhi was a *chamorri*, the ancient Chamorro term designating a person of high status; a *principal* or leader. See Repetti, "The Uprising in Guam," 124.

47. BP, fol. 130v.

48. AGN, Cédulas, vol. 20, Expediente 45, 1684.

49. AGI, Ultramar 562, MARC typescript vol. 5: 1364.

50. Ibid.

51. W. C. Repetti, trans., "Another Seventeenth-Century Letter from Rota," *Guam Recorder* 18 (1941): 95

52. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 267.

53. Maggs Bros., letter, Padre Manuel de Solórzano to Padre Josef Vidal, Agadña, 7 April 1684, p. 174.

54. Father Bouvens wrote:

The vessel under Sargento Major Don Damián de Esplana, a criollo from Peru, arrived from Manila in this island of San Juan or Guam, on 23 August 1683. On board were Fathers Antonio Xaramillo and Juan Adan, and Captain Joseph de Quiroga, who as you are aware, was political governor and in command of the garrison in these islands during 1680 until the appointment approved by His Majesty of Don Antonio de Saravia in 1681, who being near unto death, had nominated the said Quiroga to be Acting Governor and Commander in Chief of the Islands in succession to himself. The failure to carry out this appointment has been the cause of much of our trouble. As expected, the governor's death occurred on 3 November 1683, whereupon Sargento Major Damián de Esplana presented a provisional document from the Royal Court and Chancellory of Manila, which in consideration of his services, gave him the right to claim the position of Acting Governor and Commander in Chief of these islands. (Maggs Bros., letter, Padre Gerardo Bouvens to the Duchess of Aveiro, Guam, 30 May 1685, p. 182)

55. AGI, Filipinas 12 R7, MARC typescript p. 24.

56. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 193.

57. Maggs Bros., letter, Padre Lorenzo Bustillo to the Duchess of Aveiro, Agadña, 7 June 1687, p. 200. Governor Esplana was at Umatac in late May 1686 awaiting the arrival of the galleon when two small ships appeared off the coast. One was the *Cygnet*, with its captain, the English privateer Swan, and the writer William Dampier aboard. In a later report, Dampier stated that the governor was living on the west side of the island near the south end, where there was a small fort with six guns. Because he considered the English ships a threat to the expected incoming *Santa Rosa*, Esplana dispatched a small boat to warn the galleon not to stop at Umatac. Without unloading its desperately needed supplies, the galleon hastened off toward the south, where it subsequently struck the shoals that today bear its name, the Santa Rosa Banks.

58. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 16.

59. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript pp. 208–210.

60. Maggs Bros., letter, Padre Lorenzo Bustillo to Padre Francisco García, Agadña, 10 June 1687, p. 220.

61. Ibid., letter, Padre Jacinto García to the Duchess of Aveiro, Manila, 12 June 1687, p. 223.

62. Ibid., letter, Padre Gerardo Bouvens to Padre Francisco García, Guam, 12 May 1687, p. 224.

63. AGI, Filipinas 12, MARC typescript p. 194.

64. Ibid., pp. 212–214.

65. Many of the supplies required by the missionaries continued to come from Mexico, arranged for by the Jesuit procurator there. Included were such items as holy oils, missals, chalices, boxes, mass kits, hand bells, rosaries, guitars, harps, trumpets, and rosary beads.

They also received reams of paper, pens, and large quantities of turtle shells that were to be used for exchange with the islanders, who valued them highly. See AGI, Ultramar 562, MARC typescript vol. 2: 347–350.

66. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript pp. 78–80.
67. Ibid., p. 141.
68. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid (hereafter cited as RAH) (MARC), Cortes 567, Legajo 11–2677, letter, Padre Matthias Cuculino to Padre Provincial Luis Pimentel, Pago, 4 December 1689.
69. Ibid., Legajo 12, Padre Lorenzo Bustillo and Padre Diego Zarzossa, “Estado de Marianas en la Milicia, 1689–1691,” n.d.
70. Based on written descriptions, it seems quite possible that the building constructed by Governor Esplana around 1690 was the same palace of coral masonry that stood until the mid-1800s, which appears in the drawings of many European artists who visited the colony around the turn of the nineteenth century.
71. ARSI, Filipinas 14, Lorenzo Bustillo, “Relación breve del estado en que se halla la Nueva Christiandad y Missión de las Yslas Marianas,” Agadña, 23 Mayo 1690, fol. 78.
72. RAH, Cortes 567, Legajo 12, Bustillo and Zarzossa.
73. W. C. Repetti, trans., “Conditions in Guam in 1690,” *Guam Recorder* 18 (1941): 230.
74. RAH, Cortes 567, Legajo 12, Bustillo and Zarzossa.
75. AGI, Ultramar 562, MARC typescript vol. 2: 275.
76. The newly constructed and repaired vessels were to supplement the mission's boat and the many small native boats already available to form an armada that would sail to the northern islands with sufficient men to confront and subdue the rebels who had taken refuge there. When the three large boats were ready, they were joined by the others and the armada sailed north in the fall of 1690. As the fleet neared Tinian, Esplana decided to turn back to Guam, much to the disgust of Quiroga and the missionaries. In March 1691, Captain General Esplana decided to send the frigate to Manila with eighty survivors of the *Pilar* and a number of malcontents from the presidio. Earlier, on 14 December 1690, after a six-months' stay, the eighteen Franciscans had sailed to Cavite aboard the supply ship *San Gabriel*. See ibid.
77. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript pp. 123–124.
78. Ibid., pp. 74–75.
79. AGI, Ultramar 561, MARC typescript vol. 1: 155.
80. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript p. 48.
81. In his will, Esplana requested that, if he died in Manila, he was to be buried in front of the altar of Santa Rosa in the church of Santo Domingo; if he died in the Marianas, he was to be buried “in the church that the Jesuits have in the pueblo of Agat, in front of the altar of the Glorious Santa Rosa.” Among his several bequests were six thousand pesos to the Franciscans of the Philippine province of San Gregorio. He also declared his heirs to be his two legitimate daughters in Peru, María Rosa de Esplana and Rosa de Esplana. Appar-

ently, Don Damián had had a lifelong dedication to Santa Rosa de Lima, the patroness of his native city. See *ibid.*, p. 99.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 136–143.

83. The *residencia* was a judicial investigation of an outgoing official's conduct during his term of office conducted by an especially appointed judge.

84. AGI, Filipinas 16, MARC typescript pp. 134–136.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 5–241 *passim*.

86. The “governor's store” over time became the “government store,” a practice that precluded private enterprise until the arrival of Governor Villalobos in 1831. At that time, the governor's monopoly on the store was discontinued and new economic policies were instituted that allowed for private commerce.

Governor Antonio Pimentel (1709–1720) was among the most notorious governors to abuse the funds sent to the Marianas and to exploit the islanders for personal gain (AGI, Ultramar 561, MARC typescript vol. 4:921–1237).

87. RAH, Cortes 567, Legajo 11–2677, letter, Padre Gerardo Bouvens to Padre Antonio Xaramillo, Agadña, 12 May 1689.

88. Library of Congress (Marianas), Washington (MARC), “The Records of the Spanish Government in the Mariana Islands. 1678–1899,” MARC typescript item 1, p. 1–9.

89. Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, a Franciscan friar who spent seven months on Rota in 1601, while speaking with a survivor of the wrecked *Santa Margarita*, said “May God, our Father, with his mercy, so direct the good will of these *indios* as to prepare them to receive the light of heaven for, although there may never be gold nor silver here, if our Lord sees that they are ready, He will send help so that they may become Christians, which is why we have come from Castile.” Sancho, Fray Juan's companion, replied: “Well, the Spaniards do not come for that reason, Fray Juan. They come for the same reason that has caused most of us to have lost our souls already” (Driver, “Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora,” 216).

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## **U.S. ADMINISTRATION AND PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY: A COMPARISON OF GUAM AND SELECT AREAS OF MICRONESIA**

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Negotiations between representatives of the United States and the former U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) have resulted in the formation of four new political entities. Termination of the trusteeship formally signals the emergence of three sovereign states—the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands Republic, and the Republic of Palau—all bound by a Compact of Free Association with the United States. The former Northern Marianas district of the Trust Territory became a commonwealth of the United States—the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

Under the Trusteeship Agreement, the United States was obliged to “promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants” of Micronesia (Heine 1974:189). It is generally concluded that the United States failed to establish an adequate economic base upon which Micronesians could achieve economic self-sufficiency (e.g., Gale 1979; Heine 1974; Mayo 1981; Nevin 1977; Nufer 1978). Thus, economic considerations were undoubtedly a central issue in the decision of Micronesian leaders to continue political affiliation with the United States (see Heine 1974; Leary 1980:8–9; McHenry 1975). Provisions of the Compact of Free Association and the Northern Marianas Common-

wealth Covenant stipulate the kinds of economic support and the levels of aid each new government will receive within a specific time period.

But what are the long-term prospects for Micronesian economic self-sufficiency with termination of the trusteeship? Is it reasonable to assume that economic self-sufficiency in Micronesia is possible, given the constraints imposed by geographic remoteness and the peculiar socioeconomic and political circumstances of almost four decades under U.S. administration? To some extent this question can be addressed by comparing the Micronesians' economic situation with the economic situation of Chamorros in the U.S. territory of Guam, who have experienced similar kinds of constraint. Although Guam's economy has expanded and developed far beyond what it was prior to the American regime, it is not a self-sufficient economy. This is largely a consequence of advancing, in terms of employment and wage earning, the public sector economy before the private. In this article I argue that a similar pattern occurred in some parts of the U.S. Trust Territory. The primary focus will be directed toward urban areas where development of the public sector economy has exceeded the private. In this regard, Guam and Ebeye<sup>1</sup> (an island in Kwajalein Atoll) have been selected for comparison. Both are urban, and their urban development is in part a consequence of the U.S. military's playing a significant role in their economies. Moreover, certain parts of Micronesia—the Northern Marianas and Palau—have the potential for increased military activity or fortification, and the U.S. has included in the Compact and Covenant agreements with each of these new Micronesian political entities contingencies for military use of their islands. Thus the military may also play a significant role in the economic development in these areas with termination of the trusteeship, and their social and economic futures could follow the same paths that have occurred in Guam and Ebeye.

I shall begin with a brief overview of the United States' political administration in Micronesia and in Guam. Separation of the two is merely a consequence of the historical circumstances under which the U.S. assumed control over these areas and on political grounds, both of which will be delineated below.

### Cousins under U.S. Rule

Guam is part of Micronesia in an ethnological sense. It was excluded, however, when "Micronesia" became the colloquial term in reference to the U.S. Trust Territory. In the remainder of this article, Micronesia is used in the colloquial sense, that is, excluding Guam.

Guam and Micronesia both have long histories as U.S. territorial possessions. Spain ceded Guam to the United States in 1898 after the Spanish-American War. Guam was designated as a U.S. naval station and remained so until 1950, when it became an unincorporated territory of the United States. A naval government, officially called the Naval Government of Guam, was established to extend American sovereignty in the island. The governor of Guam, a naval officer appointed by the president of the United States, was the highest authority in the island and also served as commander of the naval station. By 1940, the naval government had grown into a bureaucracy of twelve departments, each headed by a naval officer. These departments facilitated the dissemination of American models in Guamanian social life, ranging from law and economics to education, health, and hygiene.

Although a naval station, Guam was not heavily fortified. Therefore it fell easily when attacked by Japanese forces commencing the Second World War. The Japanese occupied Guam until July 1944, when American forces landed to liberate the island. During the postwar period from 1945 to 1950, Guam was extensively fortified and became the most important bastion of U.S. air and naval forces in the western Pacific. Soon afterward the Organic Act of 1950 reclassified Guam as a U.S. territory, extending U.S. citizenship to the Chamorros and establishing a civilian government—the Government of Guam.

The Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana Islands (excluding Guam) were captured by the United States during the Second World War. These islands, collectively referred to as Micronesia, were formally controlled by Japan under a League of Nations Mandate. In 1945, the U.S. Navy assumed administrative authority over the region under the supervision of the Defense Department. After the war, strategic and political considerations led the United States to seek permanent retention of Micronesia. Military leaders favored complete annexation of the islands, while the State Department argued for a trusteeship through the newly formed United Nations. The two sides eventually reached a compromise for control based on the concept of a "strategic trust." Declaring all of Micronesia a strategic area allowed the United States to exercise certain prerogatives: (1) the right to establish military bases and fortifications in the Trust Territory, and (2) to deny other nations or individuals entry into the territory for security reasons. And the Trust Territory was put under supervision of the U.N. Security Council, rather than the U.N. General Assembly as other trusteeships were, so that the United States could use its veto power to limit other nations' ability to interfere with American administrative policies. With the

strategic area concept as its central feature, the United States Trusteeship Agreement regarding Micronesia was approved by the United Nations in 1947.

American political institutions were established in the Trust Territory as early as 1948, when a municipal government system with elected leaders was introduced at the local level. The territory as a whole was organized into six administrative districts. A high commissioner led the territorial government, and each district was administered by a district commissioner. In 1951, administrative authority in the territory was transferred from the Navy to the U.S. Interior Department, except for Saipan and Tinian in the Marianas, which remained under naval jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, the United States made little progress toward fulfilling its obligation to promote political advancements and economic development in the Trust Territory, as stated in the Trusteeship Agreement. (More on this later.) Consequently, this became known as the period of "benign neglect" on the part of the United States. Responding to criticism from the United Nations and the domestic press, the United States in 1963 initiated a policy to remedy the previous neglect of its ward. This involved substantial increases in the Trust Territory's annual budget, improvements of educational and medical facilities in the region, and later forming the Congress of Micronesia to afford Micronesians participation in government at the territorial level. It was action on the part of the Congress of Micronesia that subsequently led to negotiations with the United States for changing Micronesia's political status.

### **Chamorros in the Economic Development of Guam**

During the Spanish period, Guam's economic base was essentially agrarian with minimal occupational specialization. Under American rule, the agrarian economy was steadily transformed into a wage-labor economy, based principally on an industry directed toward the construction and maintenance of a military installation and a communication station, spearheaded by the U.S. Naval Government of Guam. A trade industry, supplying imported American goods to U.S. naval personnel stationed in the island, soon followed.

Many Chamorros quit their agrarian pursuits and migrated to the island's capital, Agana, to enter the wage-labor market. Chamorros living in and around Agana began to learn vocational trades and professional skills. As early as 1904, when the population of Guam totaled

about ten thousand, two-thirds of the population resided in and around Agana. Eventually a group of skilled laborers, artisans, clerks, and schoolteachers emerged. Most of these, in addition to unskilled laborers, were employed either by the U.S. Naval Government of Guam or by the federal government at the naval base (Thompson 1969:146). This outcome was a result of an islandwide military security closure that inhibited growth of the private economy, and thus restricted employment opportunities. Moreover, wages offered by the naval and federal governments were double those paid in the private economy. With the "trend toward the city" (Thompson 1969:129), Agana maintained its position as the principal population center until it was destroyed by the preinvasion bombardment commencing the American liberation of Guam in 1944. After the war Guam experienced a period of population growth and development, leading toward urbanization even greater than before the war. This was the postwar period of reconstruction. Migration of Americans from the continental United States (called Statesiders) to Guam was negligible until after World War II. Migrating primarily to take advantage of economic opportunities opened by the postwar reconstruction and fortification of Guam, the number of Statesiders in the population increased substantially from 785 (3.5 percent of the total population) in 1940 to 22,920, or 38 percent of the total population, in 1950 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1941, 1953). A labor shortage during the postwar reconstruction led to the importation of Filipinos. Their number in Guam reached a peak of eighteen thousand by the mid-1950s, but declined to five thousand by 1959 (Lowe 1967:409).

Efforts to introduce modern developments in Guam began in 1952. That year a ten-year improvement program was adopted to enhance the island's infrastructure and institutions of public service, such as schools and a hospital. Plans were made to spend about \$1.5 million a year for ten years using funds from the territorial government to finance the project. This capital investment had minimal effect on development of Guam's private economy. Apart from the military's contribution, the economy throughout the decade of the 1950s was primarily oriented toward services, comprising wholesale and retail stores, laundries, gasoline service stations, restaurants, and the like (Governor of Guam 1955:17). There was no appreciable industry developed in Guam.

In 1962, an event occurred that brought about significant long-term change to Guam's economy and inspired a period of economic expansion. This was Typhoon Karen, which led to termination of the island-wide military security closure by the following year. Guam suffered extensive damage from Typhoon Karen. A grant of more than \$15 mil-

lion from the U.S. Congress and a federal loan of \$45 million to the Government of Guam for rehabilitating the island initiated a period of expansion of the economy. Even more beneficial to the economy was the end of military security that had restricted the flow of private capital into Guam since the beginning of American rule. Within five years after its opening to the public, Guam became a major travel destination for Japanese tourists. Japanese business interests soon followed. The Japanese invested in the construction of hotels and other tourism-related facilities. Other international companies also built hotels and resorts. This initiated the beginning of a new economy based on tourism (Haverlandt 1975:116). For example, the number of hotels and motels in Guam increased from five in 1967 to eighteen in 1972, and the number of paid employees in tourism rose from seventy-five to 1,323, an increase of 1,664 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975).

Although Guam's private sector economy has expanded, it has attracted few industries that are not directly or indirectly dependent on (or greatly affected by) military spending. Tourism is one exception. Indeed, the needs of the military have transformed the island economy. Agriculture, the principal economic base when American rule began, has become insignificant. What has emerged in its place is essentially a service and wage economy, and its relative prosperity is a by-product of heavy military expenditure. From 1964 to 1968, for example, more federal funds were allocated to Guam than during the entire period between 1898 and 1964 (deSmith 1970:114). The armed forces continue to be a significant component of the economy. Military installations in Guam include: the Apra Harbor Naval Station (called "big navy"), which contains a ship repair facility; Andersen Air Force Base, a Strategic Air Command base; a naval communications master station; a naval magazine; and the naval regional hospital. All of these facilities are located on federally owned lands, which account for forty thousand acres or 35 percent of Guam's total land surface of 214 square miles. Thus there are no revenues for leased lands. Instead, Guam's economy benefits from the military in other ways. Civilians are employed on the bases. Jobs range from skilled mechanics, electricians, and craftsmen at the naval ship repair facility, to service workers such as clerks and cashiers at base commissaries and stores. Military construction contracts are awarded to local construction firms, and these often account for a large proportion of all major building projects on the island. The military is a consumer of locally produced goods such as fresh eggs, bread, milk, and produce from local merchants. Military agencies also contract for services such as packing and shipping, office machinery repairs, and waste

removal. Island retailers benefit from purchases made by military personnel and their dependents who live off-base, and from new arrivals who sometimes need temporary lodging while awaiting military housing. The purchasing power of military personnel is significant; 1980 census figures reported 11,500 active duty service men and women in Guam, along with their ten thousand dependents. Combined, they accounted for 20 percent of the island's total population of 105,800 (Government of Guam 1980:4). And the military had been the principal purchaser of products from a petroleum refinery located in Guam before the plant closed in 1982. The Government of Guam collects direct revenues from the military through at least three channels: (1) from federal income taxes withheld from military personnel salaries, of which 100 percent are reverted to Guam; (2) from funds paid to the Guam Department of Education to support military dependent children enrolled in public schools; and (3) from registration of motor vehicles purchased locally or brought over by military personnel (Government of Guam 1977:23; Pugh 1971:66-67).

The general pattern of Chamorro employment has been a steady increase in nonagricultural-related occupations (including fishing) and a substantial increase in the public sector, particularly public administration. Data from a random University of Guam survey of seven hundred households throughout the island carried out in the mid-1970s revealed that among employed Chamorros surveyed, fewer than 17 percent (actual numbers are not reported) indicated they worked in the private sector. Only a small fraction of those surveyed in this category (.03 percent) gave agriculture as their primary means of support. Almost half (49.7 percent) of employed Chamorros indicated they worked for the Government of Guam, and 33 percent said they were federal civil service employees (Haverlandt 1975:97). The majority of federal civil service employees are employed by the military. According to the *Guam Annual Economic Review* for 1984, the military employed more than six thousand Guam residents, a fraction more than 19 percent of the total working labor force (Government of Guam 1984: 26, 31).

The pattern of Chamorro employment illustrated above is reflective of the overall employment pattern in Guam. December 1983 statistics show that a little more than half (51 percent) of total employment was in the public sector. This is a long-standing trend. Moreover, statistics indicate that nearly 30 percent of employment was in public administration at the local level, representing the largest industry division in terms of number employed (Government of Guam 1984:26).

### U.S. Economic Policy in Micronesia

Prior to the Second World War, Japan sponsored a well-organized capitalistic economy in Micronesia. Micronesian participation in that economy varied: (1) there were enterprises with which Micronesians had little economic relation, such as sugarcane cultivation and sugar manufacturing; (2) there were enterprises, such as phosphate mining and coconut cultivation, that employed Micronesian labor; and (3) there were enterprises that had commercial relations with Micronesians, such as trade or providing service (Yanaihara 1976:61–63). The Japanese-controlled economy, and most of its associated infrastructure, was destroyed during the Pacific War.

When the United States assumed control over Micronesia, a Naval Military Government was established as administrator. In 1946, an economic survey of the islands was commissioned to make recommendations toward development of local economic resources (Oliver 1951). Following a delineation of Micronesia's economic needs, the report recommended that the U.S. administration immediately prepare a plan for economic rehabilitation, and that it be vigorously carried out (Oliver 1951:36). The report also noted that the economic policy conducted by the naval government up to that time was sound, but suffered two shortcomings: (1) lack of an integrated postwar plan at the administrative level, and (2) lack of implementation of the existing plans at the local level (Oliver 1951:87). That there were shortcomings in the naval administration's economic policy is corroborated by James (1949). He attributes the problem to the inability of naval administrators and civilian economic specialists of the U.S. Commercial Company (the vehicle through which economic policy was carried out at the local level) to work together effectively (James 1949:116). There were probably other deficiencies in the Navy's administration. Those mentioned here simply illustrate the kinds of problems that occurred.

Administration of the Trust Territory was transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1951, but military activities continued on Kwajalein, in the Marshalls, and on Saipan, in the Northern Marianas. These islands remained under military jurisdiction because Kwajalein was being used for testing a new missile weapons system and there was a C.I.A. training camp on Saipan (Gale 1979:8). Administration of the Northern Marianas was resumed by Interior in 1963, after the C.I.A. training camp on Saipan was closed in 1962 (Gale 1979:101). Based on the observations of various authors (e.g., deSmith 1970; Goodman and Moos 1981; Price 1966), economic policies under Interior were less

effective than those under the Navy. An indication of the Trust Territory administration's economic policies during the decade of the 1950s can be derived from annual reports submitted to the United Nations. Regarding economic development, one report states that the major objective of the administering authority was to attain maximum self-sufficiency through programs planned and directed toward four major goals: (1) stimulating and expanding agriculture in the island economy, and encouraging maximum development of available resources; (2) enhancing and increasing production of marketable goods to provide revenue for imports; (3) promoting diversification of the economy to diminish the dependence upon copra as the single major marketable product; and (4) developing the ability of Micronesians to be self-sufficient in all matters of economics in finance and commerce (Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands 1959:44). A more succinct characterization of American economic policy is found in Willard Price's *America's Paradise Lost*. From his visit to Micronesia in the early 1960s, Price quotes the high commissioner: "Our policy . . . has been that the economic development in this area should be by the Micronesians themselves for themselves. . . . Formerly, there was exploitation of the area for outsiders; today, we want the development to be by and for the people of the territory" (Price 1966:23).

According to Hezel (1982a), the U.S. administration believed that economic self-sufficiency in Micronesia was possible, in part based on the previous economic success of the Japanese in the islands. American economic policy was formulated along the following lines:

The pace of development was to be geared to the desires and the capacity of the people, . . . and wages were to be kept consistent with the productivity of the economy. Government appropriations for health and educational services were carefully controlled in the hopes of fashioning a self-contained economy. Capital investment on the part of the U.S. government was called for; however, private investment was discouraged, . . . for fear of exploitation and eventual alienation of land. . . . It rested in the assumption that limited quantities of foreign imports could become "incentive goods" to spur the native population on towards ever greater productivity. Meanwhile, their commercial economy, which would develop side by side with subsistence economy, was based on cash income from copra, fishing, and . . . small-scale agricultural ventures. (Hezel 1982a:2-3)

Hezel maintains that this policy was not fully implemented, however, mainly because of insufficient funds. Since the Trust Territory came under jurisdiction of the Interior Department in 1951, the annual budget allocated by the U.S. Congress to administer the territory averaged \$5 million, barely enough to maintain basic administrative programs (Nufer 1978:51). Nevertheless, some modest progress toward economic development was made as income from exports from the territory exceeded the cost of its imports. This situation lasted until 1956. Thereafter, export values failed to exceed the cost of imports (Hezel 1982a:3). Goodman and Moos maintain that until 1974, when the territory was opened to foreign private investment, the American administration had adamantly opposed the introduction of foreign investments to protect Micronesians from the "evils" of non-American entrepreneurs (1981:232).

Commenting on the accomplishments of the American administration, deSmith argues that until 1962 very little was done toward economic development in most parts of the Trust Territory, with the exception of Saipan (1970:134). This may or may not be true. It does perhaps point out that, the administration's economic development goals notwithstanding, there was too much control and too little done to stimulate economic growth throughout the territory. Fear of repeating the exploitative economic policies practiced by the Japanese undoubtedly explains why the administration restricted the flow of American capital into the islands. Thus the characterization of American policy during the decade of the 1950s as one of "benign neglect" may be alternatively described as the American administration's expecting Micronesians to do too much with too little. This conclusion is also expressed by Price, who maintains that the United States "can hardly be charged with exploitation. We take nothing out of the islands. Our fault is that we do not put enough in—enough to keep body and soul together, enough to pay 'a decent rent' for our present and potential bases" (1966:225).

Beginning in 1963, the annual budget allocated to the Trust Territory administration was tripled, and increased steadily in subsequent years. This action was more a response to political concerns than to the economic needs of Micronesia (Gale 1979:107–108).

The Trust Territory government grew in size in concert with its budget. From 1962 to 1974 there was a threefold increase in the number of government employees—from 2,686 to 6,815 (Nevin 1977:137). While the public sector economy grew, the private sector became stagnant. Hezel reports that the value of exports from the territory in 1975 was about the same as it was in 1961 (1982b:81). Furthermore, wages

paid in the public sector exceeded earnings in the private. Consequently, it was considerably more advantageous for Micronesians to seek higher-paying jobs in the public sector. With government jobs located in the district centers, there was increased migration of people from the outer islands to these areas seeking government employment (Hezel 1982b:81; Nevin 1977:31). Indeed, the public sector was the principal means through which the American administration could spur the economy. Trade and service activities in the territory were largely dependent on the re-spending effect of funds injected into the economy by government expenditures. The Trust Territory government's continued spending of large sums in Micronesia provided a base for further expansion of private sector activities (Nathan Associates 1966:74).

In a federal government report, contemporary Micronesian economies are characterized as lacking significant private sectors, being basically public sector economies dependent upon funds from the United States to subsidize economic development and social services. This depiction more likely reflects conditions in the district centers and urban areas, usually one and the same. Wage levels in the public sector remain higher than earnings in the private, consequently labor is diverted from the development of the productive private sector industries of agriculture, fishing, and tourism. Employment and earning statistics show that the public sector accounts for 54 percent of total employment and 65 percent of all wages. Employment in the private economy is concentrated in industries such as wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and bars, and construction firms that depend on government capital improvement funds for most of their income. Manufacturing industries are few and are relatively minor enterprises, for example, small-scale furniture making and handicraft (U.S. Comptroller General 1983:7-8).

The diversion of labor from agriculture and fishing is not only a consequence of the disparity between wage levels in the public and private sectors of the economy, but also reflects a change in attitude among Micronesians concerning these kinds of work. According to Hezel, a 1973 occupational preference survey of high school students in Micronesia indicated "that any job associated with village subsistence life—such as farming, fishing, and handicraft work, etc.—ranked close to the bottom of the list," while white collar jobs were regarded as more desirable (1982b:82). Trust Territory government employment statistics for the five-year period 1974–1979<sup>3</sup> show that on average only 1.07 percent of all employed were in agriculture and fisheries (U.S. Department of State 1981:53). Since these figures focus on employment, they probably

fail to account for people in outer islands areas engaged in agricultural and fishing activities for subsistence.

Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshalls is where the United States military has had its greatest economic impact in the Trust Territory, in terms of being a principal employer. Since the mid-1960s, the United States Army has operated an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) testing range at Kwajalein Atoll. To construct new facilities and maintain the base, the military had to recruit Marshallese and other Micronesian employees. They not only recruited Kwajalein Islanders relocated to nearby Ebeye, but also Marshallese and Micronesians from outside the Kwajalein area. Workers are recruited by Global Associates, the logistics contractor for the missile range, whose contract requires it to provide essentially all nontechnical support for the base (Alexander 1978: 39). Alexander reports that the number of Micronesians employed at Kwajalein in 1965 was 663, but was subsequently reduced to five hundred in 1966 to avoid overcrowding on Ebeye, where Micronesians employed at the base are housed (1978:62). More recent reports indicate that there are now 650 Micronesians employed at the base in what by American standards are considered menial jobs such as maintenance personnel, gardeners, cooks, maids, and warehouse workers, but also in skilled positions such as mechanics, heavy equipment operators, and secretaries (Keju and Johnson 1982a:25; Johnson 1984:23).

A limit on the maximum number of Micronesians employed at Kwajalein was first imposed in 1966 to preclude overpopulating Ebeye Island (Alexander 1978:62). The only Micronesians allowed to live on Kwajalein then were the ranking Trust Territory representative and his family. Nonetheless, efforts to keep the population of Ebeye at a reasonable level failed. Ebeye has been dangerously overcrowded since then (see Alexander 1978:61–65; Keju and Johnson 1982b; Johnson 1984:19–26) because it continues to attract more Micronesians seeking employment at the Kwajalein Missile Range. Moreover, Alexander argues, "Directly or indirectly, the financial base for Ebeye's existence lies in the presence of the Kwajalein Missile Range" (1978:68). He further notes that in 1975 wages (governed by U.S. minimum wage laws) paid to Micronesian employees at Kwajalein totaled more than \$2.85 million, excluding the income of individuals employed as domestics. In contrast to this, in the same year private sector employees on Ebeye received an estimated \$280,000 in wages.

The economic impact of the military in the Trust Territory as a whole is reflected in the fact that by the middle to late 1960s, wage earnings of Micronesians employed at the Kwajalein Missile Range accounted for

nearly 20 percent of the entire Trust Territory national income (Alexander 1978:68-69). Johnson reports that although the base at Kwajalein keeps a ceiling on Micronesian employment at 650,<sup>4</sup> Micronesian employees there argue that the base could hire many more Micronesians for less than it costs to bring in Americans (1984:20, 24). A similar observation is made by Alexander (1978:41). It is not surprising that Micronesians would maintain this attitude considering the high unemployment rate in the Marshalls, which Johnson claims was greater than 36 percent during the early 1980s (1984:20). Although the number of Micronesians employed by the military is not overwhelmingly great, employment with the military is desirable because of the higher salaries paid. Micronesians employed on Kwajalein are indirectly employed by the military because they are directly employed by Global Associates. Consequently, the Kwajalein Missile Range is listed under the private sector in statistical data on employment and earnings in the annual report for the Trust Territory. Figures show that it offers the highest average wage per employee among private sector industries in the Trust Territory (U.S. Department of State 1981:54).

### Comparison and Conclusion

Tremendous distances separate Guam and Micronesia from foreign markets. Transportation has always been a great concern, but it became an impediment to economic development as transportation costs and import expenditures equaled or exceeded export income. Geographic remoteness was only part of the problem; the economies of Guam and Micronesia were also adversely affected by the imposed restrictions of U.S. administrative policies. For Guam, the islandwide security closure restricted the flow of private capital into the island until it was lifted in 1963. In Micronesia, although under military security as well, the controlled economic development policy implemented by the Trust Territory government restricted investment of private capital for fear of potential exploitation of Micronesians and of Micronesians' being alienated from their land.<sup>5</sup>

The Micronesians' migration from outer islands to the district centers (and later capitals) to find government employment is similar to the Chamorros' migration to Agana to engage in the wage-labor market spearheaded by the Naval Government during the first decade of American rule. The influx of Marshallese and other islanders to Ebeye is a prime example. Alexander reports that the population of Ebeye in 1954 was 981, composed of indigenous residents and Marshallese relocated

from the Kwajalein Labor Camp. By 1965, Ebeye's population had risen to 3,500 and by 1975 totaled 7,500, making it one of the most densely populated places on earth with the equivalent of more than 74,000 persons per square mile (Alexander 1978:62, 64)—the result of a large number of inhabitants on a very small land mass. Some of the factors responsible for the dramatic population increase are the relocation of people from the target area of Kwajalein Atoll designated as a missile hazard zone, called the Mid-Atoll Corridor, to Ebeye; the migration to Ebeye of outer island residents of Kwajalein Atoll who claim land rights in the Mid-Atoll Corridor; the influx to Ebeye of people from the outer islands of the Marshalls and elsewhere seeking wage employment; and the migration to Ebeye of people who want to take advantage of its medical and educational facilities, and entertainment such as television, movies, and bars (Alexander 1978:63–64). This pattern of migration to Ebeye coincides with a trend Alexander suggests has been occurring throughout the Pacific, the movement of people from outer islands to the district centers and other urban areas, generally referred to as urbanization (1978:59–60). The process of urbanization, however, is more than the movement of people to urban areas. It also involves adaptation to a new sociocultural milieu. Thus Micronesians not only adapted to new residences in Ebeye, they also adapted to new ways of life.

The process of urbanization in Guam began earlier than it occurred in Kwajalein Atoll, with the migration of Chamorros to Agana and surrounding areas during the first decade of this century. Much of the Statesider migration to Guam noted above was probably temporary, because the island was still under military security that severely restricted permanent immigration. By 1975, the vast majority of Statesiders on the island were temporary American military personnel and their dependents (about 21,000) as opposed to resident civilians (about 7,000). Conditions changed when the security closure was lifted. After the Second World War, Guam's population rose at an annual rate of only 1.2 percent up to 1960. Between 1960 and 1975, however, this rate of growth more than doubled to 3 percent annually. Furthermore, census records indicate that Guam experienced one of the highest growth rates in the world between 1970 and 1975, with an annual rate of 4.3 percent. These high rates of population growth were mainly a consequence of immigration (Government of Guam 1978:17–18). Agana had been the major population center in Guam until it was destroyed during the Second World War. After reconstruction, it never regained its former standing as the island's leading population center. Nonetheless, in contemporary Guam almost 75

percent of the entire population resides in the northern part of the island. A fourth of this number is found in Agana and the surrounding area. Agana may be regarded as the focal point of a series of villages that accumulatively constitute a central urban district (Mayo 1981:56), because within it occur aspects of social life that are regarded as urban, for example: the presences of government, financial, commercial, educational, and medical institutions; various entertainment establishments, such as movie theaters, discos, restaurants, and the like; and engagement in non-rural means of livelihood.

Employment patterns of Micronesians have paralleled the employment patterns exhibited among Chamorros in Guam; that is, a steady decline in agricultural-related occupations (including fishing) and an increase in nonagricultural pursuits, particularly those in public administration. In Guam, Chamorros attribute their preference for public sector employment to the U.S. Naval Government's offering wages far exceeding the top salaries offered in the private sector during the years prior to 1940, and after the war showing a preference toward Chamorros over Statesiders and other foreign persons for government employment. Therefore, public administration and employment at military installations became the role models for Chamorros seeking employment (Mayo 1984:100). Micronesians' preference for government employment is similar to that of the Chamorros' with regard to higher wage levels paid by government, but varies in other ways. Nevin concludes that for Micronesians "government is not the employer of last resort, but of first resort. Because of attitudes inherent in a small island subsistence-culture, working in business—that is, for another man—is considered demeaning, while working for government is seen as prestigious" (1977:32).

Earlier we saw how the military has not only played a key role in the economic development of Guam, but also continues to be a crucial part of the overall economy. Similarly, the military has played a part in the economic development (in terms of providing employment) of some parts of the former Trust Territory, specifically in Kwajalein. It may also become a factor in the economies of one or more of the other new political entities in Micronesia.

Kwajalein continues to be a vital part of the United States strategic defense network, and now plays a role in testing the new Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars").

While the Navy administered Micronesia, Saipan was regarded as strategically significant because of its "mobilization potential" (Trumbull 1959:19). Within a decade after the war, the U.S. military on

Saipan had already become an integral part of the economy. A large number of the adult males worked for the Navy public works department, and, consequently, three-fourths of the population was supported by the Navy (Trumbull 1959:21, 25). During the early 1970s, the United States accepted an offer from the Northern Marianas delegation to negotiate with it separately from the other Micronesian delegations. The Northern Marianas desired a closer affiliation with the U.S. than did the other districts of the Trust Territory, such as commonwealth status or the like. Early in the talks, the United States presented its military plans for the Northern Marianas. These included: reserving more than three hundred acres of the harbor at Saipan for future naval use; joint use of the civilian airfield on Saipan, as well as acquiring an additional five hundred acres of nearby land as a support area; acquiring all of forty-square-mile Tinian for air force and naval facilities, although the southern one-third of the island would be reserved for civilian use; and use of tiny Farallon de Mendenilla for target practice (McHenry 1975: 149). If and when these plans are implemented, the military would become a major contributor to the Northern Marianas' economy. Since the military could potentially employ local labor as it did in the early 1950s on Saipan, it might again provide a means of livelihood for island residents. And the local government will earn \$17.5 million from the United States for land lease rights to the military (Leary 1980:19).

Authorizations for the existing and planned military facilities described above are included in articles of the Compact of Free Association and Commonwealth Covenant agreed upon by the United States and the new governments of Micronesia. For the Marshalls and Northern Marianas, the military has already demonstrated its impact on the local economy. In Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia (F.S.M.), there has not been a major military presence heretofore. Thus their absence in comparisons made above. Nevertheless, the Compact agreement outlines plans for construction of military facilities in Palau, and reserves the United States' right to establish a military presence in the F.S.M., subject to agreement with that government (Micronesia Support Committee and Pacific Concerns Resource Center 1982:40). Based on what has been evident in Guam, the Marshalls, and the Northern Marianas, it is reasonable to assume that the military could also become an important part of the developing economies in Palau and the F.S.M.

By failing to develop an adequate private economy, the United States, through its administrative policies in Guam and the Trust Territory, indirectly steered Chamorros and Micronesians toward the public sec-

tor and the military as the best opportunities for employment. The formal political relationship between the United States and Guam on the one hand, and between the United States and the new governments of Micronesia on the other, differ. But the economic relationships are similar: Guam and Micronesia were essentially dependent upon the United States to subsidize their economies. For Guam, termination of the military security closure opened new avenues for economic growth. The emergence of tourism is a prime example. Other elements of Guam's private sector also developed, but they have not been enough to make Guam economically self-sufficient. And as a consequence of the large military presence in the island and its impact on the economy, Guam remains indirectly dependent on the United States through the military.

For the Trust Territory, implementation of the Commonwealth Covenant and Compact agreements terminates the trusteeship.<sup>6</sup> The agreements will open new avenues for economic advancement in the new Micronesian political entities, but do not guarantee economic self-sufficiency. In fact they assure, for the fifteen-year duration of the Compact (Micronesia Support Committee and Pacific Concerns Resource Center 1982:20) and under a time frame stated in the Covenant (Leary 1980:19), that the United States will continue its direct financial support. Moreover, both documents explicitly pave the way not only for a continuance of U.S. military activity in the Marshalls, but also for expansion of the military presence to Palau and the Northern Marianas.

During the years the United States has administered Micronesia, military analysts have emphasized the great strategic value of the islands either as the principal forward base of American forces on U.S. soil in the Pacific (referring specifically to Guam), or as the optimum pullback position if the United States is forced to leave bases in the Asian-Pacific rim, that is, the Philippines, Japan, and Korea (see Louis 1972; Pomeroy 1951). In a study of U.S. military strategy in the Pacific for the 1980s, Webb argues that as the United States alters its military presence in the Asia-Pacific region, "it becomes apparent that the islands of Micronesia, particularly Guam and the rest of the Marianas, are vitally important to our future viability as a Pacific power" (1974:vi-vii). With regard to the Marianas, Webb's opinion is being borne out, inasmuch as the United States' strategic plans were clearly evident while negotiating the Commonwealth Covenant with the Northern Marianas (Leary 1980:7). And military provisions in the Compact reflect the intent of the United States to extend its military presence in Micronesia to Palau (Micronesian Support Committee and Pacific Concerns Resource Center 1982:43-49).

With their options for economic development limited by the constraints already noted so far, the new governments of Micronesia may find it difficult to refuse offers to lease land to the U.S. military. Although Guam's economy is relatively diverse, leaders in government and business favor an increased military presence in the island because of the additional economic resources it would generate (Saymo 1980: 30). While conducting field research in Guam, this writer came to the conclusion that the civilian population also maintains a favorable attitude toward the large military presence.

It is questionable whether the people of Micronesia are as willing as their governments apparently are to have military bases in their islands. The Palauan government has failed to get the required majority of residents to approve its Compact agreement that would allow U.S. nuclear-armed or -powered naval vessels in its islands.<sup>7</sup> Another example of antimilitary sentiment on the part of Micronesians is quoted in a publication concerning the future of Micronesia after the trusteeship, prepared by the Micronesia Support Committee and the Pacific Concerns Resource Center (1982:14). It consists of a letter written by Tinian students at the University of Guam in 1973, who express opposition to the construction of military bases on Tinian. Nonetheless, the Covenant, including the provision for leasing land to the military, received approval from almost 79 percent of those who cast ballots in the Northern Marianas plebiscite concerning commonwealth status (Leary 1980:11). This indicates that, like Guam, the Northern Marianas is a "supportive environment" in which the population is favorably disposed toward a U.S. military presence (Leary 1980:7). Still another example comes from the Marshalls. Although not calling for a complete withdrawal, Kwajalein landowners are concerned about the overwhelming impact the Army missile range has imposed on their lives (Johnson 1984:27-37). On the other hand, Micronesians employed at the Kwajalein Missile Range would be equally concerned if the military withdrew, leaving them jobless.

But the United States offers the following: \$17.5 million to the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas for a one-hundred-year lease on two-thirds of Tinian; \$5.5 million during the fifteen-year duration of the Compact agreement and an additional \$1 million annually for years sixteen through fifty of the Palau Military Land Use Agreement to the Republic of Palau; and \$28.5 million during the Compact period plus more than \$9 million annually for years sixteen through fifty of the Kwajalein Military Use Agreement to the Marshall Islands government (Micronesia Support Committee and Pacific Concerns Resource Center

1982:16, 37). It would be difficult for new governments trying to maintain the standard of life their people have grown accustomed to under U.S. administration to ignore economic resources of this magnitude. Therefore, considering the similarities between Guam and Micronesia, we may conclude that, like Guam, the new governments of Micronesia—the Northern Marianas Commonwealth and the Republics of Palau and the Marshall Islands—may continue to be financially dependent on the United States. The dependency is based on the direct and indirect impact of the U.S. military on their developing economies. Indeed, the prospects for economic self-sufficiency in Guam and the select areas of Micronesia noted above are minimal.

Guam and Micronesia came under U.S. control as a consequence of war. The United States maintained and administered them both on the pretext of national and international security, and the prevention of future war. Now, with the continued operation of the Kwajalein Missile Range and plans for new bases in Palau and the Northern Marianas, the developing economies of the Republics of Palau and the Marshall Islands and the Northern Marianas Commonwealth may to some extent be oriented toward the industry of preparing for war.

## NOTES

1. Ebeye is an atypical case in the territory because of its reliance on the U.S. military base located at Kwajalein as a primary avenue for gainful employment. More will be said about this later.
2. In 1953, authority over Saipan and Tinian was returned to the Navy for security reasons. Subsequently, the Central Intelligence Agency built and operated on Saipan a secret base to train Nationalist Chinese guerrillas (Gale 1979:8, 84).
3. The Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas is excluded from 1979 statistics for the Trust Territory.
4. I have no up-to-date figures on Micronesian employment at the Kwajalein Missile Range. Such figures are not crucial for one of the arguments being made in this paper. That argument is: the U.S. military had a significant economic impact in the Trust Territory as a major employer of Micronesians.
5. A similar argument was raised in Guam by the U.S. Naval Government concerning extension of U.S. citizenship to Chamorros (Thompson 1969:79).
6. The Northern Mariana Islands Commonwealth Covenant has been in effect since 1975, when signed into law by President Gerald Ford (Micronesia Support Committee and Pacific Concerns Resource Center 1982:17). Compact agreements between the United States and the Marshall Islands and F.S.M. governments were approved in 1986. There is

confusion, however, concerning termination of the trusteeship. This stems from a decision by the United States not to seek U.N. Security Council approval to terminate the trusteeship. Instead, the trusteeship was considered terminated upon bilateral approval of the Compact and Covenant agreements. Consequently, the new political entities of Micronesia may not be formally recognized by other foreign governments (Eve Pinsker, personal communication).

7. Through a personal communication received in August 1987, I learned that the Palauan government had gained the necessary margin of votes from island residents to approve its Compact agreement and allow nuclear-armed or -powered U.S. warships in territorial waters.

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## TEMPORARY TOWNSFOLK? SIWAI MIGRANTS IN URBAN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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With rare exceptions migration and urbanization in Melanesia have been widely perceived as primarily temporary phenomena. Migration has been viewed as cyclical or circular, short-term and transient, based on an ideology of return and the primacy of rural life; movements may be repetitive but the phenomenon may best be viewed as mobility rather than the more permanent relocation implied by migration (Chapman and Prothero 1983; Chapman 1985). However, although a variety of factors continue to discourage permanent urban residence (Connell and Curtain 1982:471), towns are growing in size and apparently permanent rural-urban migration is increasingly a phenomenon in Melanesia, especially in the primate cities and from the poorest rural areas, where economic development opportunities are limited. This is particularly true of the Gulf and Central provinces of Papua New Guinea (Levine and Levine 1979:28; Morauta 1980; Morauta and Ryan 1982), where migration from many areas has continued despite growing urban unemployment (Connell 1985b:95). This article examines the changing nature of migration among members of one language group in southern Bougainville, North Solomons Province, Papua New Guinea, and discusses the factors that have advanced or discouraged permanent urban residence and urban commitment over time.

The people of Siwai, about nine thousand in number, occupy the central part of the south Bougainville plain, on the easternmost island in

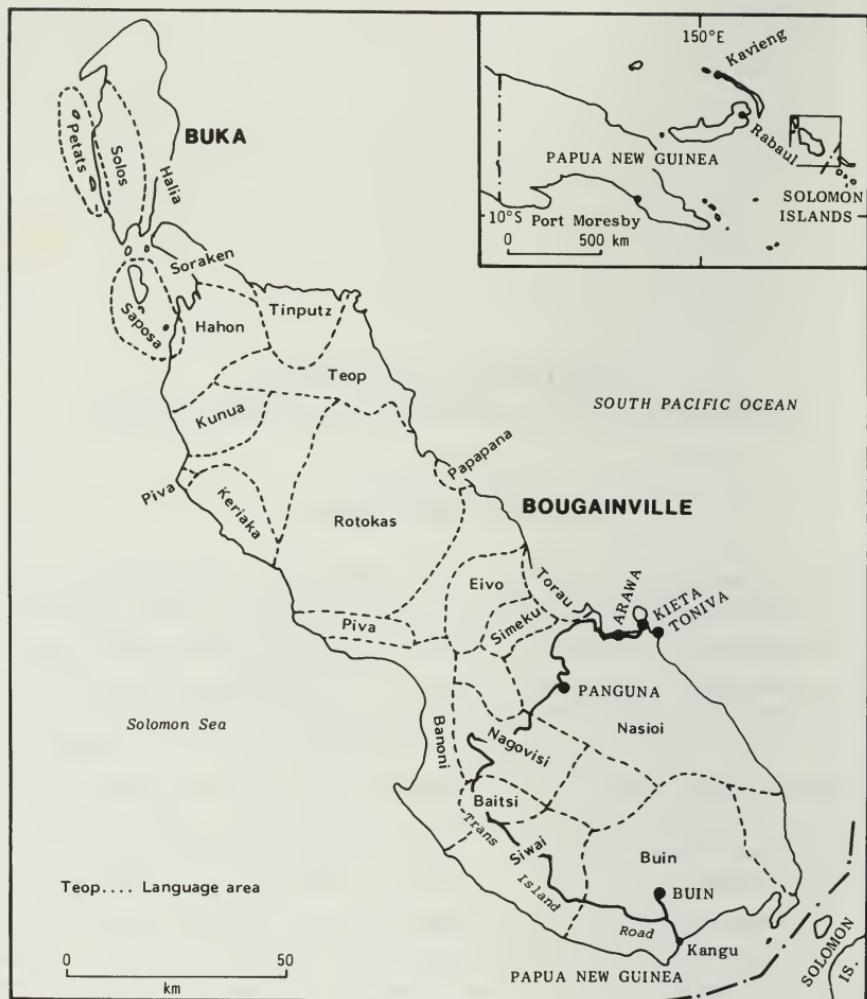


FIGURE 1. North Solomons Province, Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea (Figure 1). Before World War II, when Siwai's economy and society were studied in considerable detail (Oliver 1955), there was limited trade and contact with the commercial economy other than through migration to work on plantations. Subsequently Siwai became more closely incorporated into the national and global economy, first through cash cropping, initially of rice, peanuts and copra and ultimately and most successfully of cocoa, though accessibility to markets was often a problem (Connell 1978). In 1972 a trans-island road was completed from the east coast, through the new

Panguna copper mine to Siwai and Buin on the south coast; the mine was now eighty kilometers by road from Siwai and the new mine town of Arawa a hundred kilometers away. This dramatically and substantially increased cash incomes in Siwai through improved marketing facilities (for cocoa and vegetables) and increased availability and accessibility of new, well-paid mine and ancillary employment. Siwai moved rapidly from a dominant subsistence base to a commercial economy, becoming one of the more affluent rural areas in Melanesia. However, with considerable pressure on limited land resources and with population currently increasing at an annual rate of more than 3 percent, the extent of emerging affluence is unlikely to be sustained or as broadly egalitarian as it has previously been.

### The History of Migration

Much of the early experience of migration in Siwai closely paralleled that of other groups in island New Guinea and in the northern and western Solomon Islands. But primarily because of substantial economic changes in the past two decades, it has taken on more distinctive characteristics. Migration of workers from Siwai probably began toward the end of the nineteenth century when a handful of men went to work on German plantations in Samoa. The first plantations on the east coast of Bougainville were started about 1907, mainly by German companies, and a few Siwais crossed the island to work there (Connell 1985a). During this period working for Europeans was a novelty rather than a necessity, but it laid the basis for subsequent migration patterns. Although migrants returned to Siwai with money, shell valuables, cloth, tools, and new plants, their numbers were so few that labor migration in the German era probably made no significant impression on the rural economy.

The early years of Australian administration, following the abrupt end of German administration in December 1914, changed the structure of plantation migration. The imposition of a head tax of ten shillings on all able-bodied males over fifteen years of age, apart from those contracted to work on plantations (and also some others), was both a direct inducement to sign on and a crucial pressure, since there were rarely rural opportunities to earn the necessary tax money. In Siwai the remoteness of traders and markets limited opportunities for the production and sale of cash crops, so the head tax effectively increased migration to the east coast plantations (Oliver 1955:325, 202-203). Returning plantation laborers stimulated the extension of coconut plantations, but

the acquisition of metal tools was the main material benefit to the rural economy.

The vast majority of migrant workers were employed as laborers on Bougainville plantations, though some became overseers or "driver boys" while a minority served in the police force or were employed in other positions where particular skills were required (Connell 1985a: 124–125). Aisa, of Kuhino village, was probably the first Siwai "doctor boy," or medical orderly, trained to recognize a number of simple ailments and administer a limited range of medicines that were distinguished by color and smell; he visited Australia and may well have been one of a small group of Melanesians taken to the University of Sydney in 1933 for elementary medical training. Generally, however, the interwar years were characterized by groups of unskilled plantation laborers, earning small but increasingly necessary incomes and learning something of the ways of the world outside Siwai. The migration system benefited the colonial plantation economy and established and accentuated the dependence of the rural population (Connell and Curtain 1982:468–469; Connell 1985b:96). Head taxes and a desire for new commodities created a need for money, for which plantation employment was the only real source, yet migrants required support from their rural families, to whose security they returned when their contracts were over. This structure of "dual dependence," insuring return migration, necessarily emphasized ethnicity in the workplace.

After the war a number of important changes began to influence the structure of migration in Papua New Guinea. These included the emergence of indigenous cash cropping (primarily coconuts and cocoa in Bougainville), urbanization, localization of employment, the extension of secondary education, and a variety of other social, political, and economic changes. The changes eroded the primacy of the plantations as a target for migrant workers and resulted in the emergence of a number of rural areas where a substantial level of rural affluence could be generated from local resources. Labor migration diversified from its prewar dependence on plantations, and "contract labor" gave way to "casual" labor. Individual laborers no longer had to agree to work for fixed and lengthy periods at particular plantations, but were free to go to plantations, mission stations, towns, or ships and work for as much or as little time as they chose. Thus the migration experience became much more diffuse. Rather more experimentation was possible and, essentially for the first time, plantations were not the only destination of migration moves.

By the early 1950s a significant number of labor migrants from south-

ern Bougainville were employed in towns rather than on plantations. Absolute numbers are difficult to establish, but apparently about 10 percent of all Siwai migrant workers were in urban employment, either in Bougainville or at Rabaul and Kavieng in the nearby New Guinea islands (Connell 1985a). Rabaul exerted a special attraction for southern Bougainvilleans: it was larger than any of the Bougainvillean townships; it provided a diversity of skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled employment; and it was much the most accessible New Guinean town in a quite different ethnic environment from Bougainville. Simultaneously the number of migrant workers increased to the extent that there was growing concern over the absence of large numbers of villagers. Whereas before the war rarely more than a third of adult males were absent, in the 1950s it was sometimes more than half. Cooperative village work was not always carried out and wives did not always receive adequate financial support from their absent husbands. Migration brought limited rural rewards.

As the plantation contract system ended and other employment opportunities increased, there was a growing tendency for some migrants, who had obtained skilled or semiskilled jobs, to remain away from their home villages for much lengthier periods. Employers no longer had to send workers home, as plantation owners had after contracts had been fulfilled, and were more likely to wish to retain skilled labor. Each of these factors meant that a growing number of migrants lost contact with Siwai; they were further away, the number of Siwai friends and kin (*wantoks*) was fewer, and less of their earnings reached their home villages. However, despite changing administration attitudes toward urban life, the administration itself was not reconciled to any semblance of permanent migration into the nascent towns of New Guinea. Migrants were recorded in the censuses for their home villages and, following the emergence of the Siwai Local Government Council in 1960, there as elsewhere all migrants were expected to pay taxes to their home council. Virtually throughout the 1960s the administration viewed migrants as no more than temporary absentees from their home villages, people who would eventually return.

During the 1960s, cash cropping of cocoa and hence a rural cash economy were finally established in Siwai. Cocoa was first sold in 1962. During the early 1960s there was a close relationship between migration and cash cropping, with labor migration predominating when cash-crop prices were low. Moreover, much of the income of migrant laborers was used to establish cash cropping, primarily through the payment of labor to clear and plant land. The commercial success of cocoa meant

that the cash requirements of most Siwais could increasingly be met within the rural area, lessening the incentive to move away to find wage employment. Moreover at "home" there was work; away from home merely less dignified labor. By the mid-1970s very few Siwais worked on plantations, and virtually none of those who did were unskilled laborers. Paralleling the establishment of cash cropping in Siwai was a growth of rural employment as agricultural extension and construction work expanded, clinics and schools were established, and a Cooperative Society grew, while individually owned cocoa dryers (and hence private trading) and stores were established. (Female employment beyond Siwai also began in the 1960s, but it was not until 1967 that the council tax returns record a woman working outside Siwai. She was a nurse from Kapana then employed at Buin). Those who preferred migration in the 1960s were invariably young men who lacked the capital to establish cash crops and who had not migrated before, but for whom earning money was only part of the rationale for the experience of leaving home. Older men were more content to cultivate cash crops in their own gardens. Thus, although the early history of labor migration demonstrated a gradual movement toward more permanent migration, usually to distant towns, the establishment of a rural economy emphasized that overwhelmingly migration was intendedly and assuredly temporary, as many apparently permanent emigrants returned to develop their land.

### Mine Employment

The construction of the massive Panguna copper mine in the center of the island radically altered the structure of employment and migration within Bougainville. Even as early as 1965, during the exploration phase, there were more than three hundred Bougainvilleans working at the mine site, already the largest single source of employment in Bougainville. By 1967 the mine labor force was becoming substantial and the Buin District (consisting of the Banoni, Nagovisi, Baitsi, Siwai, and Buin language groups and census divisions) consistently provided the greatest numbers of Bougainvilleans employed in the mine (Bedford and Mamak 1976b). Approximately 10 percent of the adult male population of the area, especially from Buin and Siwai, were employed by Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL) over the four years from 1970 to 1973; an even higher proportion have been employed at the mine since the completion of the trans-island road in 1972. Wages of mine workers and those in allied industries were significantly higher, especially during construction, than virtually any other possible employment in Papua

New Guinea during this period, so that a number of skilled and semi-skilled workers left existing employment, such as teaching, to work there. Subsequently, as wages rose in other sectors of the national economy, the distortion in wage scales was reduced and skilled workers have again gone to locations other than Panguna.

Changes in the distribution of Siwai migrants over the past two decades demonstrate the continued growth of the Panguna-Loloho-Arawa urban employment complex (Connell 1985a:130), associated with the construction and operation of the Panguna mine. By 1970 it employed more than two-thirds of all migrant workers from Siwai. By contrast plantation employment, especially in the Kieta District and central Bougainville, has shown a continuous decline. By 1976 no more than five out of 121 workers (from eight random villages) were employed on plantations, according to field surveys. East New Britain had only recently begun to lose its significance as a center of skilled employment and this was largely compensated by the steady growth of employment in the national capital, Port Moresby—a pattern maintained into the 1980s. The only current centers of Siwai employment on the Papua New Guinea mainland are towns. Overall, therefore, there has been a substantial shift from rural to urban employment coupled with a concentration of migrants, either in the complex associated with the Panguna copper mine or in more distant, urban centers where skilled employment is also available. Wage employment has become more spatially concentrated than at any time in the past half-century.

The completion of the mine coincided with unparalleled affluence within Siwai. Cocoa was well established and the trans-island road dramatically increased accessibility. Not surprisingly, Bedford and Mamak concluded from an analysis of mine migration from southern Bougainville that the demand for wage employment in the area was closely related to participation in cash cropping. When cocoa prices rose sharply in 1973, there was a decline in the number of people seeking employment; moreover workers tended to work at Panguna only during any slack season for harvesting cocoa crops and preparing gardens (Bedford and Mamak 1976b:172; Connell 1985a:133). The response to wage employment was influenced by both urban and rural incomes, with a number of workers seeking to maximize their cash incomes by a combination of mine and rural work. In the early 1970s, therefore, a distinctly new type of migration emerged; rural incomes and urban wages were both high while mine-associated jobs were generally available, leading to substantial and often rapid circularity between village and mine.

The longer that unskilled workers remain at the mine, the better their

conditions become (independent of the higher wages that follow the acquisition of skills); wages increase and housing conditions improve. However, such financial and social benefits of stability tend to be welcomed more by distant mineworkers (especially those from outside Bougainville) than by those from areas like Siwai who can easily circulate between town, mine, and village. Workers from the two nearest districts, Buin (including Siwai) and Kieta, have tended to remain in employment for shorter periods than those from greater distances (Bedford and Mamak 1976b:178). The mine work force from Siwai is characterized by its youth; 56 percent of all Siwai mineworkers in 1976 were younger than twenty-three years of age and the mean length of employment of all Siwai mineworkers was 3.1 years. Even so Siwai mineworkers were marginally older and more permanent than in previous years, suggestive of a general process of stabilization and aging of the mine labor force. Outside the mine the Siwai labor force is even less stable and younger than that at the mine. Circulation between town and village in non-mine employment has been much greater than in the more prestigious and highly paid mine employment.

A decline in copper prices in the mid-1970s put financial pressure on the mine to the extent that new employment opportunities rapidly declined. No longer were there radio broadcasts calling on employees who had overstayed their leaves to return to Panguna. Despite the policy of preference for Bougainvilleans it was becoming more difficult for new aspirants to obtain mine employment and for old employees, who had previously returned to their villages, to reestablish themselves there. Those who had jobs often chose to hang on to them rather than risk losing them by returning for lengthy periods to the village.

With a few significant exceptions, however, few Siwais wished to take up or even continue formal urban employment after the age of about thirty-five, despite the attractions of high wages. Those employed beyond that age were invariably in skilled employment. Other men had become established with cash crops and a family in the villages. By the 1980s this trend had become even more pronounced and, in many Siwai villages, the number of men employed outside the village had actually declined and unskilled workers were retiring earlier than they had previously done. Urban employment was increasingly considered to be "young man's work," especially as social disorder increased both at the mine camps and in towns. This explanation disguised a more important reason: men of this age, even when they already grew cocoa, were increasingly concerned with consolidating their positions in village economy, politics, and society. This trend was particularly apparent in

central Siwai, where land was extremely scarce in a number of matri-lineages and disputes over land tenure were increasing. Equally important, new job opportunities were becoming rare. BCL, the main employer of labor, was contracting rather than expanding, laying off older unskilled workers; the few vacancies were mainly for tradesmen and tertiary graduates. A similar, but less clear-cut, trend was apparent in other areas of urban employment. Since 1975 the proportion of Bougainvillean workers at the mine has fallen as some of those with rural income-earning opportunities have elected to concentrate on them. Unskilled school-leavers have found it increasingly difficult to obtain urban employment and several young men in the rural areas, while claiming to be attached to their villages and keen to participate in rural development, are in reality those who have failed to find urban employment. Consequently, as older men retire and younger men fail to find work, the urban labor force has become more permanent.

By the early 1970s mineworkers from southern Bougainville were characterized as having adopted a "peasant" strategy of employment: urban and mine work were considered peripheral to the more important cash cropping and entrepreneurial activity in rural areas since it was cash cropping rather than mine employment that provided security (Bedford and Mamak 1976b:180). Despite the slow increase in the stability of the mine work force from Siwai, there is no real evidence that any semblance of an urban-industrial proletariat is emerging in the manner of that from some other distant sources of labor. The slight increase in stability has been a response to a decline in mine-working opportunities, so that employment at the mine is increasingly tending to become the prerogative of a limited number of more skilled and educated individuals rather than an arena for a much larger number of "circular migrants."

### Siwais in Town

The growing commitment to mine employment has not yet been matched by a growing commitment to urban residence. Few Siwai married couples reside in the towns of Bougainville. This is even more true of the other towns of Papua New Guinea. Consequently, this analysis of Siwai urbanization is primarily restricted to Bougainville's largest town, Arawa, and, to a much lesser extent, Kieta and Panguna; the small town of Buin, the nearest town to Siwai, is excluded. Buin is a minor source of employment; in 1975 the township had a population of no more than six hundred, only four trade stores, and almost no social

life (Connell 1976). Very few Siwais live or have lived in Buin, none had been there long, and none expect to remain there long. By contrast, the much larger Papua New Guinean towns of Rabaul and Port Moresby, unlike any other towns in the country, both contain Siwais who seem to have permanently settled there and are not intending to return to Siwai. Few of these had a Siwai wife with them and many had married women from outside Siwai.

At any one time perhaps a hundred Siwais live in Arawa, although less than half of these have formal employment. (Unlike other Papua New Guinean towns, Arawa essentially lacks informal or casual employment to supplement or complement formal incomes. Hence there is relatively little job mobility within the mine town.) There is also a regular stream of visitors, often staying at least overnight; many are visiting kin or the hospital, or are involved in some commercial venture (Connell 1985a:138–139). The urban population is also daily supplemented by Siwai shift workers from the various mine camps, but on the whole the line between visitors and workers is well defined. In Kieta and Panguna there are perhaps fifty or sixty more Siwais living in urban housing and some two hundred living in the mine camps and other barrack-style housing associated with construction companies or small businesses such as Bougainville Bakery. Thus there are over three hundred Siwais in the Bougainville towns on most days other than Christmas, a figure that represents barely 3 percent of the total Siwai population and even less than that proportion of the total urban population. Overall probably no more than 5 percent of the Siwai population live in the urban areas of Papua New Guinea. This small number, alongside the ebb and flow between rural areas, the mine, and the towns, gives the Siwai urban population an unusually transitory ethos.

At the start of 1976 there were no more than twenty-six households in Arawa where the householder was either a Siwai or married to a Siwai. Only two of these households had a total of more than five years experience of urban residence; the mean period of urban residence was actually slightly under two years. (The same duration of residence is probably also true of Panguna, although in the more established town of Kieta and its suburb Toniva, length of urban residence is somewhat greater since fewer residents work in mine-related employment.) Of the twenty-two households for which relevant data were available, exactly half were formed around married couples of which one partner came from outside Siwai. (Observation suggests that this external marital pattern is even more striking in Kieta and Panguna.) This pattern, above all, is the most exceptional characteristic of urban Siwai households, in

direct contrast to rural Siwai where the total number of intermarried households is numerically less although the population is twenty times larger. Even more striking have been recent changes in the pattern of marriage. Between 1960 and 1975 at least a third of Siwai marriages were contracted between partners from the same village and the mean distance separating partners prior to marriage was 2.2 kilometers, as short as any comparable distances recorded elsewhere (Connell 1985a: 142). However, between 1975 and 1981, in the fairly typical village of Siroi, eleven of the twenty-five contracted marriages had one partner from outside Siwai, whereas before 1975 this figure was no more than twenty of 426 marriages.

A more obvious, but perhaps less significant, characteristic of the Siwai (and Bougainvillean) urban population is its extreme youth because of the predominance of young adult males in the towns and the relative unimportance of families (cf. Bedford and Mamak 1976a:459-460). Detailed demographic data were not collected for the Siwai urban population; however, no more than four of the twenty-six household heads were aged over thirty. Relatively few Siwai children lived in town, but remained with kin in the villages. Even in these crude terms this demographic structure suggests a rapidity of population change and the real and potential instability of the urban population.

Unlike all other Papua New Guinean towns of similar or larger size, Arawa (and also Panguna) consists almost entirely of permanent, formal housing that is allocated according to job status rather than through social choice or ethnic networks of access. No employers allocate housing according to ethnic group, hence groups from abroad and from every province are scattered within the town, although the low-rent (low-covenant) areas are occupied only by Papua New Guineans. The fact that access to housing does not depend on the *wantok* patron-client system minimizes one strand of ethnicity important elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. The lack of freedom of choice over the location of dwellings is a common source of dissatisfaction (Bedford and Mamak 1976a:475). Papua New Guineans tend to be concentrated in the smaller houses of Sections 9 and 14 and, of the twenty-six Siwai households, fifteen lived there while the other eleven lived in eight different sections. Not one Siwai household has Siwai neighbors; consequently, and quite exceptionally, Siwai ethnic ties at the workplace (especially at the mine) are actually much less fragmented and disjointed than in the towns. Less than half of those Siwais employed at the mine, whose status entitles them to urban housing, have bothered to obtain it; the others have their "homes" in their villages and live in single workers'

accommodations close to the mine. Some have left urban married accommodations to return to singles' accommodations at the mine site, a measure of their limited commitment to urban residence.

Because of the short distance between the towns and rural Siwai, and also from the towns to the unmarried mineworkers' accommodations, Siwai urban households are foci for Siwai urban life. With one exception (a Siwai man married to an Australian), every urban household in the mid-1970s also contained permanent or semipermanent residents from outside the nuclear family who were involved in formal urban employment. The mean urban household size was therefore no different from rural Siwai. The great majority of households experience a steady flow of visitors from Siwai and also Panguna. Since Siwai households (like those of other language groups) are scattered throughout the town, urban residents tend to be socially oriented toward these visitors rather than to other urban households (including those in houses adjoining their own or households from other parts of Siwai). This constant flow of visitors, the scattered distribution of urban households, and the fact that members of half of the urban households are intermarried tend to militate against the emergence of anything approaching a specifically Siwai form of urban life. Urban households have more social and economic contact with their kin at the mine or in rural Siwai than with their neighbors or other urban Siwais in the towns.

The extent to which present Arawa residents are committed to urban permanence is very limited. Those households where Siwais have married members of other language groups are potentially more committed, as their high proportion of the urban population suggests. Men from elsewhere who have married Siwai women are able to establish themselves in Siwai villages; not all of them wish to do so but a small number have settled, apparently successfully, in Siwai. Although the same is true for Siwai men who have married outside, access to land in a matrilineal society is becoming much more difficult for them. Outsiders, especially from beyond Bougainville where skin color and language are quite different, usually find it difficult to settle into Siwai rural life; some of these marriages have disintegrated and it seems certain that this pattern will continue. Most such couples therefore have a greater commitment to urban life, where they can have access to both groups of *wantoks*, than do the entirely Siwai urban households, whose residential flexibility is much greater.

Among wholly Siwai urban households, only one, where the husband, aged thirty-nine, worked as a clerk at Panguna, stated that they intended to remain permanently in town. They visited their home vil-

lages only at Christmas time (even ignoring some life crises in their extended families), they had no rural house or cash crops (unlike almost all the other Siwai families living in town), and their children attended school in Arawa (along with no more than three or four other Siwai children). In each of these three ways they were quite distinct from other urban Siwai households; nevertheless, despite this expression of urban commitment, they were aware that they were able to return permanently to their villages if they wished. Indeed the same was true of every single urban household and most, including those in well-paid skilled employment, expressed their intention of returning to Siwai within a few years. Decisions on urban residence were generally not made on the basis of job satisfaction but according to the need to accumulate some capital with which to establish a successful cash crop or business venture within Siwai. Reflecting this intended mobility, urban houses are often sparsely furnished while gardens are untended and ignored. There is a visible lack of attachment to the urban residence that contrasts with that of many other Papua New Guineans in town.

Commitment to rural Siwai is expressed through regular visiting, often for weekends, and through remittances. A survey of a random sample of sixteen mineworkers in the 1970s indicated that all customarily sent gifts to rural relatives, while only six claimed to receive gifts;<sup>1</sup> their claims may well be exaggerated but demonstrate the close links between mineworkers and their villages and the consensus of support for the ideology of an urban-rural support system. Indeed, despite relatively high urban incomes, little reaches rural Siwai and in some cases there may be a net rural-urban flow, reflecting an unusually affluent rural society. Direct remittances constitute only a small proportion of the urban-rural income flow, since the majority of cash and goods are brought back to the villages by returning migrants intent on using the cash in the rural economy. All mineworkers in the survey intended to take cash back to the village and a high proportion were able to specify how this might be used. Objectives included the establishment of cocoa crops, the construction of a store, or the purchase of a truck. Many such realistic goals were achieved. There is usually a "target," often quite vague, to labor migration and such a target is invariably directed to the reestablishment and consolidation of rural residence. The contemporary earnings of mineworkers are for their own use rather than that of their rural kin—a commitment to the rural area as much as to its people.

Urban life is quite distinctive and all households involved in it share a number of characteristics that distinguish them from their rural counter-

parts. First, urban households are closely integrated into a monetary economy. Almost all food is purchased and most transactions involve cash exchanges. Although rural visitors invariably bring food (as do urban dwellers returning from rural visits), this provides only a small part of requirements. Furthermore, most households have no more than 10 to 20 percent of their small urban gardens under food crop cultivation (although the proportion is higher in the lower-paid workers' gardens) and gardens are very small in any case. Certainly more than three-quarters of foodstuffs, by weight or value, is purchased in urban markets or stores. Because of a preference for snacks and drinks (alcoholic and non-alcoholic) this constitutes a substantial proportion of total expenditure (cf. Mamak and Bedford 1977:445–446). Second, Siwais are effectively distinguished from all other urban residents by language and from mainland Papua New Guineans by skin color. Partly because of this they tend to form groups for various social activities, specifically for sport (soccer teams) and drinking; these are semiformal and informal male activities for which there is no female counterpart. Female social life revolves around casual visiting with a very restricted group of visitors or fellow urban residents; the boredom that follows from restrictedness and joblessness, along with contacts with home villagers, is responsible for strong female disenchantment with urban life and consequently a lack of commitment to long-term residence. Nevertheless, because of the large number of Siwais that all urban residents are in contact with, little incentive exists for them to interact socially with members of other language groups. Third, there are neither "traditional" nor "modern" Siwai leaders resident in town. This results in some anomie and loss of contact with the ebb and flow of Siwai social and economic life in which urban residents wish to retain their interests.

Within Siwai there are a number of recognizable districts—notably Rataiku, Mokakuru, Ruhuaku, Korikunu, and Tonu—and people for the most part, especially when they are within Siwai, feel a social affinity and unity within these rather than with the wider Siwai area, which is essentially a colonial creation (Connell 1978:1–6). These social divisions, delineated by minor linguistic and cultural variations, are also apparent in town. Geographical divisions are reinforced by religious divisions between Catholics (who represent two-thirds of the Siwai population) and members of the United Church (who represent the remainder), especially since churchgoing is often maintained within the towns. Casual drinking groups also reflect these divisions. Ethnic divisions vary according to particular social contexts; in the mine other southern Bougainvilleans will, on occasion, recognize a Siwai unity whereas

northern Bougainvilleans are unlikely to perceive any difference between Siwais and others. Mainland Papua New Guineans in general are unlikely to distinguish different groups of Bougainvilleans. Most Siwais come to define a group identity in opposition to other groups, especially at the mine where they are more likely to come into contact with each other than either in the town or in Siwai. Thus, socially, Siwais tend to fear and respect the Tolais of East New Britain, who are often perceived as being similar to themselves, while despising New Guinean Highlanders, generalized as "Chimbis" who are seen as violent and uneducated. These are social divisions that have followed perception of particular groups working or relaxing at the mine or the camps and that are emphasized by political divisions and competition for jobs and promotion. Because of the physical distinctiveness of Bougainvilleans and the politicization of mineworkers, especially in the mid-1970s in response to demands for island provincial and independent government, these attitudes are often shared by other Bougainvilleans. At the mine Siwais are much more likely to express a Bougainvillean and Siwai identity than they would either in Siwai or in town, a situation somewhat different elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (e.g., Morauta 1985:228). In the place where interethnic contact is greatest Siwai identity is most strongly reinforced. By contrast, within the Siwai urban population, district divisions are extremely clear and, in part because of the scattered location of households within the town, the divisions are almost as significant in town as in Siwai. Although urban Siwais are economically distinct from their rural counterparts, they are socially distinct only on occasion, a situation true also of other southern Bougainvilleans (cf. Bedford and Mamak 1976b:181-182). Households from different districts within Siwai have no more than the most casual acquaintance with each other; few are even aware of or interested in the existence of more than half the other Siwai urban households, a feature which is especially true of households without mineworkers. A greater experience of Siwai identity is only slightly engendered by urban residence.

Despite the unusual dispersion of urban households within Arawa, employment is the more important basis for bringing together members of different Papua New Guinean groups. Yet few of these work contacts extend into other forms of social contact. There are, in any case, few social institutions in the towns that might bring together individuals from different areas; voluntary associations are fragile and "urban Papua New Guineans use formal organizations within cities less commonly or effectively than elsewhere in the Third World" (Salisbury 1980:90). Moreover, in almost all areas of employment, Siwai workers

are numerous enough so that, except in a limited number of places (notably in office employment), even work contacts with non-Siwais are generally maintained only at the most formal and superficial level. A major social characteristic of mine employment (the main urban source of employment) is the surprisingly limited nature of interethnic contacts, and hence the manner in which other ethnic groups are perceived through derogatory stereotypes.

Almost all Siwais in town remain, in practice, short-term circular migrants, or what Skeldon has called the "floating population" (1976: 19). Bougainville towns are themselves a novelty, and migrants in town keep in such close contact with the rural area that it is almost impossible for them to be dissociated from it. Although some larger Papua New Guinean towns contain a small but growing urban proletariat, this is scarcely true of Siwais in Bougainvillean towns. The vast majority of even long-term urban residents remain basically oriented to the peasant mode of production with a temporary involvement in urban wage employment. The continued decline in the supply of urban-industrial employment that began in Bougainville in 1975 has strengthened urban commitment by blocking short-term circularity. But, in Curtain's phrase, "it makes more sense to regard these workers as partly urban based peasants rather than as proletarians" (1980:59). Wage employment is essentially a rural adaptation to the expansion of an introduced economic system. The Siwai agricultural economy, rural social organization, and rural political life will continue to be of overwhelming importance in the life of the emerging urban peasantry. Urban life, at least for Siwais within Bougainville, is inherently an extension of rural life. Siwai is essentially a single cultural and linguistic group, based in Siwai but now multilocal, from which there are always temporary absentees, almost all of whom express their intentions to return and most of whom will probably do so.

### A Rural Perspective on Urban Commitment?

Every phase of mobility reflects some adjustment to, and participation in, the incorporation of Siwai into a regional and national economy. Labor migration began in the nineteenth century with a tentative commitment to distant migration; during the present century this commitment grew as desires became necessities (and taxes proved inescapable). Absolute numbers of migrants appear to have grown steadily throughout the present century, with only brief periods of decline. Distances

traveled have fluctuated from a prewar focus on east coast plantations to a more widespread dispersion, especially to New Britain, in the post-war years. More recently the emergence of Panguna has centered labor migration in a tiny part of Bougainville for all but a small, more highly educated group who have found jobs in other parts of the country (although many of this group, too, are in staff positions at Panguna). The diversification of urban-industrial employment and, to a lesser extent, education and deculturation in Siwai have also resulted in the contemporaneous emergence of a flow of female labor migrants, who now represent about 10 percent of the Siwai urban work force. Consequently a pattern of migration that was much the same as that in a large number of Melanesian areas, but especially in the New Guinea and Solomon islands, became a pattern of migration that was similar only to that in other parts of southern Bougainville.

In the unusual conditions of a rural economy undergoing a rapid transition from subsistence to affluence, few people in Siwai suffer from the high rate of out-migration. However labor migration (especially in the mining era) has contributed to an accelerated decline in rural social control and the elderly share less of the benefits of migration (because of their poorer access to migrant earnings and labor). On the other hand, rural-urban income and welfare disparities, at least for Siwai, are not evident. The young have benefited especially from access to high mine earnings, enabling them to develop cocoa plantations and business enterprises and to finance their own marriages. Except in exceptional circumstances older men (those much older than age thirty-five) have ended their participation in the wage labor system, being satisfied by rural social life and their cocoa crop earnings (Connell 1985a:145-146). Indeed the Siwai agricultural economy has never necessitated out-migration to meet basic subsistence requirements; it was only the imposition from outside of particular wants and taxation, in the absence of a market economy, that necessitated participation in the migrant labor system.

In the prewar years there was only occasional circulation in the labor migration pattern; few individuals cared to repeat their two- or three-year stint at a distant plantation. In the postwar years circulation became more general. The end of contracts gave migrants much greater freedom of decision making; there were improved educational opportunities and a growing diversity of better paid employment opportunities that, in itself, encouraged movement between different kinds of jobs in different places; and cash cropping continually appeared to be on the

verge of a rapid expansion (although this did not materialize until the 1960s), providing an incentive to remain closely linked to a rural economy of apparent potential. The emergence of mine employment coincided with the success of cash cropping and, since mine earnings were high and the demand for labor was great, there was a very rapid circulation of labor in the years of the construction phase and a withdrawal of labor from all other areas, especially plantations. The proximity of the mine enabled mineworkers to maintain their participation in rural economic and social matters; there was little risk attached to migration. In almost every aspect there was a dramatic postwar shift toward Siwai's incorporation in the national economy; this was almost entirely voluntary in contrast to the "dual dependence" of the prewar years (cf. Connell 1985a, 1985b).

Subsequently, and especially since 1975, circulation has declined as cash cropping and rural business activities have become established and the demand for mine labor has fallen. Circulation in Bougainvillean urban-industrial employment has remained more apparent among the less-skilled, poorer-paid workers in less prestigious non-mine employment. For example, at Bougainville Bakery workers leaving their jobs lose less income and less prestige and are more likely to be able to regain employment. Moreover, as access to rural land and disputes over land and cash-crop tenure worsen, even those with the most apparently permanent urban base have attempted to maintain rural ties by further cocoa planting and house construction, taking out shares in rural businesses, or leaving family members in the villages to maintain their presence and interests.

The slow growth of a Siwai urban population and the decline in circulation among the mine labor force suggest the emergence of a committed urban-industrial proletariat, but this is almost certainly more illusory than real. Greater stability of the Siwai mine labor force has followed the decline in the absolute size of the work force and the impossibility of casual circulation and employment as part of the industrial bourgeoisie. Mineworkers continue to make rural investments and amass savings but must remain in the mine work force until they effectively decide on rural retirement. If the urban employment situation worsens, especially in areas such as the public service where wages and fringe benefits are substantial, this tendency may spread further. A second group of more long-term urban residents are those who have married partners from beyond Siwai and find a harmony in urban areas that may elude one spouse in the home area. As this group rear children in town, sometimes without mastering a rural language, the prospect of

urban commitment increases. Natural increase has not yet become the most important component of urban population increase. Finally, in parts of central Siwai, some matrilineages have virtually no cultivable land suitable for cash cropping; young men from these areas must in the future anticipate that the bulk of their income can only come from urban employment. Consequently, although there are some apparently permanent out-migrants (especially in towns beyond Bougainville where distance emphasizes their isolation and separateness), and others who believe they are, few will remain forever in town. It is still impossible to regard any urban Siwais as permanent urban dwellers. Indeed, unless an individual dies in town he cannot be definitely categorized as a permanent urban dweller. (Although young men have died in mine accidents and others in Arawa hospital, all have been buried in Siwai.) Permanence can only be confirmed retrospectively.

Analysis of the factors that are associated with "urban commitment" or "urban attachment" (Bedford and Mamak 1976b)—such as involvement in formal wage employment, investment in urban housing and business development (rather than remittances to rural areas), perception of declining (or absent) economic opportunities in the village, establishment of social networks in the town (rather than through rural-urban links), a decline in the rate of return visits to the village, expectations of future work and residence, and empathy with urban rather than rural life—shows that Siwais have very little commitment to Bougainvillean towns apart from formal employment. All urban houses are rented, mainly from employers. Only one man has a rural interest in urban business (Connell 1978:205–208), although there are prospects of greater future investment from a rural base. Lineage affiliation retains strength even in the face of status differentiation. For most households other than those with intermarriages, social networks are almost entirely Siwai dominated and therefore serve to emphasize rural kin-based matters and rural-urban ties. Even intermarried households merely incorporate two sets of rural-based urban networks. These rural interests tend to dominate urban life. At the mine few are involved in union affairs, and other urban associations such as school management committees find little Siwai support.

Most Siwai urban workers and, for that matter, most other Melanesians in urban Bougainville depend directly or indirectly on the fluctuating fortunes of a multinational corporation that, in any case, is scheduled to close its Panguna operations about the turn of the century. Urban Bougainvilleans are both unusually dependent on the vicissitudes of a single element of international capitalism and only marginally able

to improve their own situations within the system to the extent that they have a firm economic base in town. (By contrast, in larger towns where the economy is more diversified and less dependent on a particular terminal form of international capitalism, urban migrants are able to obtain a more secure niche in the urban economy although, even there, nonexistent social security provisions, low wages, and employer-owned housing are major disincentives to permanence.) Consequently, despite the fact that many Siwais obtain well-paid, secure employment, the eventual uncertainty of life in mine towns means that even they pursue, in the Salisburys' (1972) felicitous phrase, a "rural-oriented strategy of urban adaptation." Like the Siane described by the Salisburys, but unlike many of the Hageners in Port Moresby whose rural opportunities are more restricted (Strathern 1975:402), urban Siwais are relatively unconcerned with successful urban adaptation. Savings, attitudes, and intentions suggest that most migrants intend to return home and that there is no real distinction between "permanent" and "circular" migration, especially in attitudes.

Many urban employers, significantly in the more prestigious activities such as the public service and Bougainville Copper Limited, provide biannual return fares for workers. Even if this provision represents an assumption that even high-status workers are only temporarily in urban employment, rather than a decision that would encourage this, it strikingly emphasizes the rural origins of urban migrants and their responsibilities in the rural sector. As elsewhere in Melanesia,

many migrants are not prepared to commit themselves totally to urban life. Indeed in my experience of middle and high-ranking civil servants many envisage retiring around their early or mid-forties and returning to the village. The rationale seems to be that by this time a man will have built his prestige house in the village, will have more or less finished paying the expenses of his elder children's education and will have little prospect of any further or considerable promotion. In the village the tree crops that he has planted every year so diligently will be bearing fruit and will ensure a cash income to cover his needs and support his status when he makes his bid on the local political scene. (Walter 1981:37; cf. Curtain 1980:57–58)

Those with paid leaves and high salaries are thus most easily able to maintain their social and economic position in village life, through regular return and investment. Not only are urban wage differences thus

transmitted into the rural areas but, paradoxically, those with the most well-paid, prestigious urban jobs are those most easily able to return to their native villages.

In comparison with many other areas of coastal Melanesia, Bougainvillean urbanization has been relatively recent, further arrested by the proximity of villages to towns, so that the most striking feature of urbanization is intermarriage. Although such marriages are relatively unstable they are, nevertheless, the most likely basis of a future urban population, but even so that fraction of the urban population will decreasingly be identified with Siwai. As elsewhere in urban Papua New Guinea children may grow up speaking Pidgin English rather than either of their parents' languages, a disability which will make it difficult for them to adjust to a rural culture and life-style even if they so wish. They may also prefer urban diets, accept urban mores, and so on; they may eventually "come to see the urban way of life as their own way of life not as an alien interlude" (Morauta and Ryan 1982:49). For the moment this kind of urban cultural adaptation is not imminent. In Siwai there is now no real land shortage, hence rural options remain viable. Yet in the future migration may proceed out of inequality. Simultaneously, urban children, with restricted familiarity and sympathy with Siwai culture, and long-term absentees may find it increasingly difficult to assert their rights to rural land. Land tenure, flexible within Siwai to the extent that all rights in land are negotiable, is likely to become more rigid. The social and economic cost of high fertility is becoming apparent. At the moment all Siwais in urban Bougainville are mobile and temporary townsfolk; in perhaps no more than a decade it will be impossible to be so dogmatic. Though the Siwai case indicates that apparently permanent urban residents are exceptional, in being generally either part of the industrial bourgeoisie or intermarried, it has become evident that in other parts of Melanesia, and especially in Papua New Guinea, there are now migrants in the towns who are likely never to return to live in their rural villages. By the mid-1970s it was apparent that some Melanesian urban residents were "trapped" or "disposed" in town, especially in Port Moresby, without the financial means to return home and without real rural economic opportunities, because of inadequate access to land. A quarter of all children born in Port Moresby, Lae, and Rabaul had never visited their "home villages" (Garnaut, Wright, and Curtain 1977; cf. Connell 1985b:98-99) and could have pressed only minimal claims to rural land. Many of these trapped residents are from the poorest rural areas, where economic development opportunities are particularly limited. This is particularly true of

migration from the Gulf and Central provinces of Papua New Guinea (Levine and Levine 1979:28; Morauta 1980; Morauta and Ryan 1982), where migration has continued despite growing urban unemployment (Connell 1985b:95). Permanent urban residents are those who would experience real deprivation, either economically or socially, in rural areas. The "dual dependence" of an earlier era is actually giving way to a situation where a growing minority can no longer depend on the rural area for subsistence or incomes. It is this minority, not the more highly paid urban workers, who are the nucleus of the emerging urban proletariat, but they may also be the urban poor. Though Siwai does not yet share in this trend, in the future there as elsewhere in Melanesia, those who are least able and likely to return to their home areas will be migrants from the land-short areas, where income-earning opportunities are now few, along with those who have married outside their home linguistic area.

Yet lengthy urban residence, and urban employment, do not imply urban commitment, though the birth of children in towns is likely to encourage permanence. Similarly the degree of stated commitment to rural kin is not an indicator of dissociation from urban life (cf. Strathern 1985:376), nor is length of urban residence (Fahey 1980). Even those whose residential and employment choices may appear to have been thrust upon them maintain rural social and economic relations, in part because of their need for ultimate social security, and so adhere to customary rural expectations in urban life. Consequently it is the intermarried group, who have diverse expectations and relations, that may be the most committed to urban residence. There is now no doubt that "to talk of temporary urban dwellers with the implication that they will go home in due course is largely wishful thinking" (Ward 1971:103); it is a wish that is often shared by those urban residents themselves but blocked by the social and economic problems that would follow.

## NOTES

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1. I am indebted to Geoff Harris, formerly of the University of Papua New Guinea and now of the University of New England, for enabling me to have access to the questionnaires from which these data can be calculated. Some doubts must be attached to the quality of the data.

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## EDITOR'S FORUM

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### NEW DIRECTIONS IN PACIFIC HISTORY: A PRACTITIONER'S CRITICAL VIEW

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*Micronesian Seminar, Truk*

The field of Pacific history has come a long way since J. W. Davidson, its founder and for years its doyen, laid down its charter in 1955 and gave it academic respectability. Davidson made the then revolutionary proposal that the traditional perspective on European imperial history be reversed—that is, that the interaction between the West and the island Pacific be viewed from the perspective of the islands themselves rather than the European capitals that governed them.<sup>1</sup> The primary object of study of the new Pacific history was not to be the London Missionary Society *in se* and the dispersal of its missionaries over the globe, but the arrival of such missionaries in the island Pacific and its significance for the island societies. The consequence of this reversal, as Kerry Howe points out, was that the "new" Pacific historian was charged with the task of examining any and all European influences on the islands, "the lowly beachcomber, an impoverished sandalwood trader, a ragged whaling crew," as well as the LMS missionary or even the ostrich-plumed governor.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the historian had to duly take note of the fact that even the cherished European institutions that had formerly been the exclusive object of his or her study were likely to have been transformed to some degree in the Pacific environment. To comprehend this transformation, as well as the foreign institution's impact on the local environment, entailed some knowledge of the indigenous society, of course. And so was born island-oriented history.

But island-oriented history, which gained universal acceptance in academic circles, is today regarded as only a partial corrective of the Eurocentric history of old. Island-oriented history must give way to what is sometimes called *islander-oriented* history, many apologists assert, if local people are to be given their rightful place in the history of their own islands.<sup>3</sup> The apologists argue that Davidson's original vision, for all that it achieved, is badly outdated in this age of Pacific nationalism and must be broadened greatly if Pacific history is ever to become more than the account of a procession of foreigners and their institutions to island shores. The complaints usually made about island-oriented history are that it almost always begins with Western contact, focuses on Westerners rather than on islanders throughout, and makes almost exclusive use of written sources that are, of course, Western and hence invariably biased.

While it is nearly impossible to disagree with the desirability of *islander-oriented* history in principle, one can have serious questions about its practicability. Given the severe limitations under which Pacific historians work, are the canons of the "new" Pacific history a bold initiative that promises a depth of understanding hitherto unimagined or merely a formula for frustration? How is the author of a written history to keep Pacific Islanders in the forefront of the narrative when the local people, unfortunately, are nothing more than an unindividuated sea of humanity? Rarely does the historian know of the names, faces, personal quirks, and anecdotes needed to make islanders live as individuals—and when he does, it is almost always from a Western source.<sup>4</sup> And where does a historian turn to supplement the Western sources upon which he draws so heavily for his work? The obvious answer is, of course, oral material—if he is fortunate enough to have access to it, if he possesses the requisite skills to use it wisely, and if the scope of his study is confined to one or two cultural areas. Finally, how is a historian to extend her story back beyond the point of initial European contact except by adding one of those insipid chapters on precontact island life that have become *de rigueur* in an age acutely self-conscious about suggesting that it all began when the first Europeans walked ashore?

I am not suggesting that Pacific history should not move in the direction of what is called *islander-oriented* history. Clearly islanders deserve a place in their own history, and as grand a place as possible. But they will never hold center stage in that genre which we Westerners have been accustomed to call history, if for no reason other than that they happen to belong to nonliterate societies and have left us comparatively

few records that can be used in writing about them by those engaged in this discipline, whether they be Western historians or islanders themselves. We historians play with a stacked deck—not only because of the preponderance of Western sources (although there are some islands, especially in Polynesia, that have rich indigenous traditions), nor because we must rigorously adhere to a European-born tradition of historiography (sometimes we do not!), but because we are in the business of turning out our product in written form. If the medium that we use can be said to be at least partially determinative of its contents, then the very fact that we write rather than compose chants, for instance, imposes on our work serious limitations. Written sources are naturally more congenial to anyone who intends to produce a written work, especially since they are presumed to reflect the concern for facticity, chronological ordering, and other things associated with written history.

All this was brought home to me very vividly last year when I wrote a series of historical monographs in preparation for the centenary of the Catholic Church in the Caroline and Marshall Islands.<sup>5</sup> To chronicle the events in the founding and growth of the church, I drew heavily on archival and published materials, many of them in languages other than English, that provided a time sequence and structure that would have been difficult to obtain through oral sources. Naturally, however, they also weighted the narrative toward the European and American missionaries who figured so prominently in these accounts. I canvassed local leaders for information on Micronesian personalities, but, try as I might, I was unable to achieve the balance that I had hoped for and so could not do justice to the hundreds of unheralded islander church workers who contributed so significantly to the building of the church in the area. To provide evenhanded treatment, so to speak, would have taken far more time than I could possibly spend on the project. Instead, the monographs were turned over to local people, leaving them not only to redress the imbalance, but more importantly to determine the way the story of their church should be presented at their separate celebrations. In Yap the church history was danced; in Truk it was sung in a number of hymns, each composed by a separate island group; and in Pohnpei it was dramatized in a series of humorous tableaux underscoring the multiple misunderstandings that occurred throughout the early attempts at intercultural communication. Each of the island groups had its history, presented in an art form that best suited its genius, and I had my monographs.

It may be belaboring the obvious to insist that Pacific Islanders—if they are anything akin to the Micronesians with whom I work—*do* con-

trol their own history, dramatizing themes that are meaningful to them in art forms of their own choosing (although rarely *written* forms). My experience has taught me that islanders will freely make use of—while seldom being enslaved by—written materials that we may proffer as they proceed to chant or act out or dance their history. Perhaps the humbling recognition that we Westerners have no monopoly on island history, despite our self-important fidgeting about imposing yet another form of cultural imperialism, will liberate us at last to do what we can and to do it well. Pacific historians are a nervous lot by and large. We are forever anguishing over our efforts as if they were the final word rather than the very provisional contribution they are—another brick in the edifice, as H. E. Maude wisely used to say. Anthropologists seem much less squeamish about the texts they produce, possibly because they possess the conceptual vocabulary to allow them to distinguish between the *emic* (indigenous perceptions) and the *etic* (organizing principles that they impose on their material). Then, too, their year or two of living in the field among the people they study can be counted upon to lay to rest most of the pretensions that they might have harbored regarding the lasting impact of their work on the local culture.

The fact that Pacific peoples have their own populist histories, usually three or four removes from our rarefied academic workspace, should not, of course, cause us to abrogate all responsibility to move toward a historiography that takes serious account of island people. A work like Greg Dening's *Islands and Beaches*, which masterfully integrates anthropological literature and oral tradition with written sources on Marquesas history, demonstrates how far the historian can go in this direction.<sup>6</sup> It also indicates something of the limits to which this approach may be pushed, however, for Dening wrote on a homogeneous cultural group with a rich oral tradition and limited the scope of his history to about a century, yet he admits to being able to rescue only a few individuals, all of them royalty, from oblivion.<sup>7</sup> For the rest he quite effectively (but reluctantly, I suspect) generalizes the Marquesan people as "Te Enata" in their interaction with the host of Europeans who lingered on or crossed their beach. Recently there have been a few historical theses on Micronesia that, making judicious use of oral history, have offered admirable reinterpretations of island events during the past century and have moved considerably closer to a more balanced treatment of islanders.<sup>8</sup> These works, like Dening's, are necessarily restricted both culturally and geographically, however, and each of the authors had the additional advantage of having lived for years in the island group about which he or she is writing. As the range of the his-

tory broadens, such treatment understandably becomes less feasible. K. R. Howe's partial survey of the precolonial Pacific, for instance, despite the author's obvious commitment to the notion of islander-oriented history, is more a recitation of common themes than a dramatization of these through actual islander-European encounters.<sup>9</sup>

Even works such as those just mentioned, which come as close as any to the contemporary ideal, fall well short of the criteria laid down by Routledge: islanders are not in fact the main actors, but are usually defined exclusively through their collective responses to European initiatives.<sup>10</sup> From this one can only conclude that some of the norms linked to islander-oriented history are thoroughly unrealistic and in need of serious revision. Even if it is argued that these criteria are meant to represent a historiographic ideal that may be approached but never attained, there remains the danger that islander-oriented history will emerge as the principal or, worse, the only standard by which the value of a historical work is judged. That would be tragic, for it would deny legitimacy, for instance, to O. H. K. Spate's ambitious and elegant trilogy on the making of the modern-day Pacific, a work that is so sweeping in coverage that it does not have the luxury of focusing on the peoples of the Pacific.<sup>11</sup> To have to apologize for a history of the breadth and synthetic power of Spate's because it does not meet our current standards of island history is ludicrous. Clearly there are any number of books on topics of vital importance to our understanding of the Pacific whose merits cannot adequately be evaluated by such standards. If there remains, as Routledge says, a surprising "pertinacity of doubts as to what Pacific history is or ought to be,"<sup>12</sup> the confusion may well be attributed to the unworkable norms we have adopted.

If islander-oriented history, as described earlier, is indeed an unreliable norm, what do we have to offer in its place? I believe Routledge himself offers some excellent suggestions in his article on the subject,<sup>13</sup> but before elaborating on this I would like to offer for consideration a test case at the other end of the historical spectrum. Some time ago I had occasion to delve into the Spanish conquest and early colonization of the Marianas, something that occurred three centuries ago and about which there is no surviving oral tradition.<sup>14</sup> To what extent is it possible for the researcher foolhardy enough to undertake this topic to avoid the excesses of Eurocentric history while shedding light on the island group's past and helping present-day citizens of the Marianas reappropriate their distant history?

First of all, there is little one can do to prevent Europeans—in this case, the troops, missionary priests, and governors—from dominating

the narrative, although the islanders as a collective unit can be kept in the story, even if invariably in the background. In this case, of course, the author must be prepared to receive the inevitable reproach that what he has to offer is far from islander-oriented history.

Second, the author can use imagination and analogy, powerful but sometimes undervalued tools of his trade, in reassessing the motives and strategies of islanders in their interaction with Europeans and one another. If he has any knowledge of the people of whom he writes, or of their analogues in other Micronesian societies, he is aware that the mere planting of a flag or declaration of Spanish sovereignty is not and has never been a *casus belli*. Likewise, verbal attacks by the Spanish on local customs, although capable of provoking ridicule and contempt, would not ordinarily lead to violence. On the other hand, personal assaults by the Spanish on the people would have invariably triggered attempts at retaliation just as they still do today. Perceived alignment of the Spanish with rival political forces could also occasion armed violence. The nature of the hostilities throughout this period was clearly intermittent warfare of the kind employed elsewhere in the Pacific. If there were major battles, they were heavily ritualistic and were concluded quickly after the first few men were lost. These few conclusions alone could generate still others that might give rise to an entirely new understanding of this initial period of colonial history.

Finally, the historian can and should attempt to show the impact of Spanish intervention on the island society of the Marianas with respect to population change, settlement patterns, acculturation in life-style, social organization, and so forth. The importance of this island transformation or "social history," as it may be called, was a major point made in Davidson's often-cited inaugural address as first head of the Pacific Studies Department in Canberra, and was reaffirmed strongly in Routledge's survey of new directions in Pacific history.<sup>15</sup> We may not have a large cast of individual islanders with speaking parts in our production, but we do have the faceless local community about which we can write. If, as is often the case, we are forced to remain silent on the workings of the internal social and political systems of the local people, and if we have little to say about their initiatives vis-à-vis the European, we can at least describe the effects of European incursions on their island society. This brings us back to island-oriented history, seemingly passé but a reasonable enough minimum standard in the light of the real constraints under which many of us work.

Will such modest historiographic goals satisfy the aspirations of today's young island nationalists who are impatient to shed every last

vestige of colonialism? Perhaps not, but I am not sure that this matters a great deal. The young and principled, whether white-skinned or brown, can be extraordinarily myopic at times. A deliberate adjustment of our norms for Pacific history will provide some reassurance for those who might have misgivings about doing important research that cannot comply with the impossible standards that we have set for ourselves. Howe cites with approval Davidson's long list of the agricultural and other industries that have produced such wide-reaching change in island communities from one end of the Pacific to the other.<sup>16</sup> If our goal is to reach an understanding of how island people came to be the way they are, then these foreign industries represent a vital force in that story and thus are legitimate, even critically important, research topics. Anything that might discourage such directions in historical research, as old-fashioned as they may seem, will simply leave island historians all the poorer tomorrow when a generation of highly literate islanders seriously turns to the task of reinterpreting its own history. In the meantime, there is ample room for islanders and expatriates to work out, in very different directions and via different media, their own perceptions of island history. Pacific-born academics need have no fear: their fellow islanders will maintain for the foreseeable future a monopoly over those forms of history that are truly honored by their people.

This critique of the shibboleths accepted by Pacific historians should end in some constructive recommendations for those practicing the art today, so I offer these rather platitudinous propositions as a summary of my position. To avoid the appearance of belittling my peers, let's just say that this is the advice I would give to someone just launching into the field. This draws on very little reading background in historical method, several attempts to write Micronesian history, and twenty years of living and working on a Pacific island with island people.

(1) *There is no such thing as a definitive history, so learn to feel comfortable with the provisionality of your work.* Few historians today would have the audacity to term their books "complete" histories, as was the common practice some years ago. Today's historian sees himself as producing a necessarily partial history—"partial" in both senses of the word: biased and incomplete. Hence, he writes in the knowledge that what issues from his efforts may be incorporated into the fuller and richer historical synthesis that will surely follow.

(2) *It is better to get European material relating to the islands into print than to suppress publication indefinitely until it is totally free from the usual biases.* The conscientious historian will do what he can to present an impartial treatment, but he should be aware that his read-

ers, not least of all the growing Pacific audience, have the wits to read between the lines and supply corrections of their own. Revision of European bias is the task of more than a single generation. While this should not excuse us from making an attempt at evenhanded treatment, neither should it be permitted to paralyze the writer into inactivity.

(3) *Oral traditions, while they can be helpful if the problems of obtaining them and the hermeneutical difficulties associated with their use can be overcome, are not the only means at our disposal for filtering and correcting Western sources.* At times the historian will have no body of local material from which to present an alternate explanation of island events, but this should not leave him resourceless. As I suggested above, he can legitimately draw on the powers of imagination and analogy. We may make reasonable inferences regarding the past on the basis of our familiarity with a cultural group's behavior today, or at times on the basis of a similar society's response in the past.

(4) *Maintain a healthy respect for the limitations of the medium that you choose to use.* The print medium is less suitable for presenting much of the indigenous material we might collect than the various media in which they were originally presented. This is not to say that oral material cannot be successfully incorporated into written history, only that we may not presume this can be done without major reworking of the sources. The differences between literacy and orality, which are receiving much attention from social scientists these days, are of consequence here. The author would do well to recall that, however sympathetic he might be to his islander subjects, the very act of sitting down to compose at a typewriter or word processor constitutes still another alien slant.

(5) *To show the impact of foreigners and their institutions on island society is one of the most important services a historian can render to island peoples.* Islanders today don't require the services of Western historians to sing the praises of their ancient heroes or to do biographies of their contemporary leaders. What they do need is any insight that we can cull from our sources, European and indigenous, on the process of social change that has revolutionized their societies. The Micronesians I know are still struggling to understand the upheaval of the past century or two—how they came to be impacted from without, how their ancestors responded to these changes, and how the most visible of the changes affected still other areas of their life. A major part of our efforts in Pacific history today must be to help island populations address these questions through the social history that we present.

(6) *Tell a good story before all else.* A good story requires at least a few colorful personalities, and the historian would do well to let them

emerge, whatever their nationality, without apology. Don't clutter a history with sermonettes on the virtues of island folk and the vices of Westerners (or vice versa). Avoid those dull treatises on the local culture before the advent of the white man, often done in the historical present with no semblance of movement, the sole purpose of which is to assure readers that we are mindful of the fact that islanders were there long before Europeans. Spare us the pieties that are intended to testify to a fond sympathy for the islander. Instead, produce a readable history that will give us as balanced a picture as the narrative will bear. If you have a story to tell, get on with it.

If these reflections strike readers as a bit reactionary, so be it. Nevertheless, the intention of what I have written is not to deny islanders their own rightful place in Pacific history, but to make sure that they get it. To the extent that we historians stop strangling our own initiative with unrealistic norms for the practice of our trade, island people will have the advantage of our output, as imperfect as it may be. They can react to it, revise it, even reject it outright—but they will at least have our work on which to pronounce their own judgments. Who knows but that this may be the catalyst needed to bring on the age of Pacific Islander domination over their own written history!

## NOTES

1. Davidson's address was later published as "Problems of Pacific History," *Journal of Pacific History* 1 (1966): 5–21.
2. K. R. Howe, "Pacific Islands History in the 1980s: New Directions or Monograph Myopia?" *Pacific Studies* 3, no. 1 (1979): 82.
3. See, for instance, David Routledge, "Pacific History as Seen from the Pacific Islands," *Pacific Studies* 8, no. 2 (1985): 81–99.
4. In the remainder of this article I use the pronoun *he* for the sake of brevity and clarity, but I intend it to encompass both males and females. This is especially worth mentioning because of the significant contributions that women have made and are making to Pacific history in nearly all geographical areas.
5. The monographs—"The Catholic Church in Yap," "The Catholic Church in Pohnpei," and "The Catholic Church in Truk"—were mimeographed by the Micronesian Seminar, Truk. They remain unpublished.
6. Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774–1880* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980).
7. *Ibid.*, 93.
8. Perhaps the most notable examples are David Hanlon's work on nineteenth-century Pohnpei, "Upon a Stone Altar," Ph.D. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1984; Karen Nero's

still uncompleted dissertation for the University of California at Berkeley on the ascendancy of Koror in Palau during the last century; and Mark Berg's recent thesis for Australian National University on internal migration in Yap and Palau in the nineteenth century.

9. K. R. Howe, *Where the Waves Fall: A New South Sea Islands History from First Settlement to Colonial Rule* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984).
10. Routledge, "Pacific History," 90.
11. O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1979-); vol. 1, *The Spanish Lake* (1979), and vol. 2, *Monopolists and Freebooters* (1983), are published, and the third volume is still being written.
12. Routledge, "Pacific History," 81.
13. Ibid.
14. F. X. Hezel, "From Conversion to Conquest," *Journal of Pacific History* 17, no. 3 (1982): 115-137; F. X. Hezel, "From Conquest to Colonization," *Journal of Pacific History* (in press).
15. Davidson, "Problems of Pacific History"; Routledge, "Pacific History."
16. Howe, *Where the Waves Fall*, 88.

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## REVIEWS

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Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman, eds., *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*. Memoir no. 45. Auckland: The Polynesian Society, 1985. Pp. 226. Paper \$24.00.

*Reviewed by George E. Marcus, Rice University, Houston*

A primary agenda of this volume, intended to lend a coherence to these uniformly excellent papers, is to demonstrate the new robustness that has emerged in the anthropological tradition of work on Polynesia through the flexible application of French structuralist ideas. In the two decades that structuralism has been both in and out of fashion in Anglo-American anthropology, it has served primarily as an ideology of method that has had diverse kinds of influence on the work of individual scholars as well as on the distinct traditions of writing about different ethnographic regions of the world. In general, however, structuralist ideology has appealed primarily as a way to renew long-standing hopes in Anglo-American anthropology for building coherent, totalistic perspectives on such regions through systematic comparison and the discovery of "underlying" principles that unify diverse findings outside the contexts of individual projects of ethnography. An indication of unease about this particular theoretical agenda comes not so much from academic reviews of this volume, but rather from the pithy summary for it included in the catalogue of a bookseller that specializes in literature on the Pacific, the Cellar Book Shop of Detroit, Michigan (#422, item NS97, p. 8): "Papers individually interesting in spite of rather than because of their homage to a newest 'in' thing—'comparative studies in the structuralist mode.' Much to ponder, little to accept as not a reflection of each author's mind rather than of Polynesian social ways present or past."

Mostly concurring with this assessment, I intend to focus this review on how structuralism as an ideology of method plays out in these papers, which are indeed representative of the very best contemporary anthropological research on Polynesia. Far from these papers each reflecting the stimulation of structuralism in one way or another (as the editors claim in their attempt both to unify the volume and to celebrate a new moment of progress in Polynesian anthropology), at least one (Kaepler's) has little to do with structuralist concerns and two (Goldsmith's and Babadzan's) are pursuing a different set of questions altogether, questions that structuralist ideology has tended to obscure rather than raise. What's more, Edmund Leach, once the leading provocateur for structuralist analysis in Anglo-American anthropology, offers concluding comments to the volume in which he now expresses a frank skepticism about the structuralist program as it is diversely manifested in the papers and celebrated in the introduction. My reading of this volume, thus, views the operation of structuralism as an ideology of method in the papers as much more of a contested ground than do the editors, and as a demonstration of the deficits as well as the indisputable value of work done according to a structuralist set of assumptions and rhetoric of claims. Before briefly considering the papers individually, I want to offer some appropriate general observations: about how Lévi-Strauss's work has settled in as an influence, or ideology of method, as I call it, among Anglo-American anthropologists, and about how this ideology has settled more specifically into anthropological research on Polynesia, which will return us to the agenda of this volume.

While Lévi-Strauss has been remarkably eclectic in the influences upon him, the development of his structuralism has been shaped by two major strains and styles of French social thought. Most prominent and explicit is Lévi-Strauss's Durkheimian heritage, that is, his commitment to a comparative science of society as society has transformed from a primitive to a modern state, and as this transformation reveals through collective representations in social expression the underlying principles, or classificatory logic, of human mentality. Bringing to bear the formalism and rigor of structural linguistics on the Durkheimian project, Lévi-Strauss revived the latter's totalizing vision and made it the explicitly programmatic side of his own work—the discovery of structures eventually decontextualized through comparisons from their particular and culturally diverse expressions. The other major but more indirect or muted influence on Lévi-Strauss is that of the French variety of radical literary modernism, pervasive between the wars and finding expression in the intersection of such frameworks as surrealism and Marxism. This

is the side of Lévi-Strauss that is very concerned with processes of textualization, interpretation, the figurative aspects of language, the multiplicity of voices alive in any context, and the problems these raise in the constitution of knowledge generally. These concerns are more embedded in his asides, some of his essays (less well known to anthropologists), and his playful literary style, that is, in the construction of his own voice enacting through a distinctive corpus of writing his structuralist program, rather than explicitly in the program itself.

The very best works of French scholarship that have developed under the influence of the explicit structuralist program have been those that have acknowledged, wrestled with, and incorporated both sides of Lévi-Strauss, that have mixed both structural linguistic and literary concerns with culture and language. I have in mind here, for example, the work of Greek classicists such as M. Detienne, P. Vidal-Naquet, and J.-P. Vernant. (Of course, what formidably qualifies a decontextualized, formal structuralism in the direction of hermeneutic concerns with texts in classical studies is the existence of a deep and sophisticated historiographical tradition that any scholar must assimilate, if not master, in entering these fields; significantly, no such tradition bars the gate as a prerequisite for structuralists who enter the field of ethnology devoted to primarily oral cultures.)

It should be noted, also, that the other primary French response to structuralism has been the reaction summarized under the label of poststructuralism, covering most prominently the writings of such figures as Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan, and Michel Foucault. While incorporating, if only in critique, a number of the terms of structuralism, the starting point for many poststructuralists entailed a derailing of the structuralist program precisely on the questions and problems of language, and ultimately of knowledge, that it could not explicitly address. These writers thus brought to the fore that which in Lévi-Strauss was implicit and a reflection of French social thought between the world wars.

Unlike either one of these French responses to structuralism—which, however different, never lost the literary problematic of language and the hermeneutic concern with multiplicity of perspectives that was an embedded part of Lévi-Strauss's work—Anglo-American anthropology's appropriation and translation of structuralism have heavily emphasized the Durkheimian, explicit program of Lévi-Strauss. With very few, but notable exceptions (see Boon 1972, 1982), Anglo-American structuralism has thus remained tone-deaf to the other, literary and interpretive side of Lévi-Strauss. The resulting ideology of method in

works influenced by structuralism, such as those in this volume, concentrates on the discovery of *underlying* (a key metaphor explicitly acknowledged by several papers in this volume) logics, schemes of oppositions, and principles of transformation, all of which shape a particular kind of unified theoretical narrative. Indeed, while structuralist analysis has now encompassed historic changes, thanks especially to the recent essays of Marshall Sahlins on Polynesian materials, it has not become fully historicist in the relative lack of explicit concern it shows for problems of interpretation, complex motivations of actors, the poetic subtleties of language, and alternative or variant accounts that complexify any attempt to extract a formal cultural logic *from under* a context of action. Thus, structuralism operating as an ideology of method in Anglo-American anthropology, despite the flexibility which has recently characterized it, has tended correspondingly to elude or insufficiently attend to the following kinds of issues: the conditions by which knowledge is produced by ethnographic subjects or anthropologists themselves, a reflexivity about how data are constituted and textualized in the research process, a sensitivity to the various ways cultural experience itself is textualized—in short, a sensitivity to the dialogues, polyphony, and counter-discourses within any cultural setting. Instead, structuralism tends to rely on an *authoritative* (unconscious?) cultural logic, one that either univocally assimilates or masks other concerns in society. The papers of this volume are vulnerable to this critique, since they follow the tradition that has constituted Polynesia as an appealingly coherent culture area. In the Polynesian context, the general views of culture provided by the anthropologist in scholarly accounts wind up being coeval with the partial and particular, but encompassing, views of chiefly authority in these societies. Anthropologists' and *particular* native models have become identified. The tradition of anthropological study of Polynesia has always viewed these societies as aristocentric and heard them univocally in this timbre; the structuralist ideology of method reinforces this tradition.

In light of the preexisting dominant theoretical trend of functionalism in Anglo-American anthropology, what structuralism permitted, given the one-sidedness with which it has been imported, is a much more sophisticated kind of thematic analysis of cultural materials than developed through functionalism. Functionalism explained cultural texts such as myths in primarily sociological terms and did not allow for much exploration of the indigenous meanings of such texts; it did not allow anthropologists to get inside them, so to speak, to examine with any probity symbols and the indigenous associations made among them.

Indeed, by not taking the previously noted problems of language and context sufficiently into account, structuralism as an ideology of method fit very well and in fact completed Anglo-American functionalist concerns. That is, even the most accomplished structuralist analyses in this volume (those, say, of Valeri and Sahlins) retain the sociocentric focus of functionalist analysis. What is discovered in Polynesian cultural logics is read against a baseline of social relations that functionalists developed but could go no further in elaborating. Structuralist discussions of indigenous logics, of what is to be found in myths, turn out to give a richer, yet confirming understanding of what has long been known in Polynesian ethnology about politics, kinship, and religion. Yet, a structuralism that would wrestle explicitly with problems of constituting knowledge and interpretation might do more than "crack codes" and penetrate underlying logics that enrich and confirm notions of Polynesian social relations already outlined by conventional functionalism. For this, a more balanced and open dialectic between a privileged discourse about society ("anthropological theory") and Polynesian discourses is necessary.

There are two characteristics of the ideology of method in the most structuralist of these papers that prevent such an open and balanced dialectical approach. First, while based on careful scholarship and an excellent knowledge of sources, these papers do not place in the foreground concerns with genres, narratives, the conditions for the production of knowledge, or the like as being problematic. Rather such attention is developed in asides, footnotes, or hedges, which, I would argue, precisely set up material for treatment according to the particular kind of structuralist ideology that characterizes Anglo-American anthropology. Typical in this volume are Schrempp's hedges in introducing some Maori material for comment: "I begin by summarising the basic relationships that are set out in the account of the origin of the universe. Because it is a summary of basic relationships, many details of the originals are left out. I make no reference to the ways in which the two accounts differ, and I do not claim to have captured the artistic effect of the original" (p. 21). It is precisely these sorts of excluded considerations that would be of importance for the kind of enriched structuralism that at least some of the French scholars influenced by Lévi-Strauss have produced. While it is clear that scholars like Valeri and Sahlins are absolute masters of the sources that affect their analyses, it is also clear that for them, too, problems of textualization, narrative, poetics, and the conditions that have produced our knowledge of Polynesian cultures are of peripheral concern, such as the fact, for example, noted by Leach in

his conclusion, that all our sources are European filtered through a complex history of relationships between oral and literate processes of communication. Yet it is precisely such concerns that the full-bodied structuralism of Lévi-Strauss managed to incorporate. Without acknowledging and dealing with them, structuralism in the Anglo-American tradition becomes merely the fulfillment of functionalist reconstructions of Polynesian culture, with all their virtues and flaws.

Second, the structuralist ideology of method operating in these papers insists, as a completion of the distinctive cultural logics they are defining, on a resolution of the contradictions it finds in indigenous texts. Order is restored by resolving puzzles posed by the anthropologist, yet claimed by him or her to be both indigenous puzzles and solutions. While structuralists may certainly find salient elements of opposition or conflict in indigenous texts, their imputations of resolution as indigenous moves rather than as their own are suspect precisely because, as noted in the preceding, their attention to the construction of indigenous texts, to poetics, to matters hermeneutic is either lacking, a matter of asides, or hedged. In the end, this kind of structuralist analysis fills out richly and usefully the kind of sociological problems that the tradition of anthropology (and most notably the preceding functionalist tradition) has always set. Typical is a statement of Hooper and Huntsman's commenting on Valeri's paper: "There are thus, within the Hawaiian system itself, two conceptions of power, one divine and the other humanly produced, which are finally rendered 'not incompatible' with one another by a logic of transformation" (p. 10). While Valeri is clearly working deeply inside indigenous materials here, the question is, whose logic and for what purposes? Turning to Valeri's paper itself we find that while he is scrupulous in his use of sources and explication of detail, the interpretive canon he employs to make associations—the critical element in reaching structuralist logics of transformations, resolutions of contradictions—is very much his own. For example, after a careful exegesis of Hawaiian metaphors, he imputes the following: "But the most profound basis for the analogy between menstruating woman and wild god is that both represent potentialities of human life that must be realised by men. The ritual process by which a god in tree form is developed into a god in human form is, in fact, identified with the sexual process of transforming blood flowing from a woman into a child" (p. 97). In tying these symbols together, whose logic—the critical structuralist entity—are we dealing with? In this one-sided, but sophisticated application of structuralism, it would seem that all is pulled back to the Durkheimian social without explicit attention to distinctively

Hawaiian modes of interpretation and making associations. In the absence of these, the interpretation of Polynesian symbols will always be skewed in the direction of a single Durkheimian truth of social order.

The most obvious reason for the strong association of the structuralist ideology of method with Polynesian ethnology at present is the stimulus of the work of Marshall Sahlins in giving structuralist method a historical dimension (his Polynesian demonstrations of this [1981, 1985] have had a theoretical influence far beyond Pacific studies). However, I would argue that the current fit between structuralism and the long-standing anthropological treatment of Polynesia goes further than this. We might look to contrasts between anthropological approaches to Polynesia and Melanesia respectively. Whereas the former have found structuralism appealing theoretically, the latter have not, and in fact, it seems that some contemporary work on Melanesia has an affinity for poststructuralist approaches. For example, contemporary Melanesianists have been far more explicitly concerned with the processes that produce knowledge and cultural texts, as well as the manner they have been performed, than have Polynesianists. Thus, rather than following closely the past traditional terms of Melanesian studies in anthropology, contemporary scholarship has flowered by deconstructing these terms—for example, it has turned the study of kinship into that of gender and has been more open to polyphony, alternative accounts, aporia in belief systems, poses of authenticity, and reflexivity operating in subject societies than has Polynesian scholarship. In one sense, this current difference can be mapped onto the classic contrast that Sahlins himself developed (1963): Polynesia has chiefs, Melanesia has big-men. And by further parallel, Polynesian religion has totalizing cosmologies that reflect social hierarchies; Melanesian religions (from the external perspective of anthropology) are more diverse and model their respective social orders less coherently. In Melanesian ethnography, there is more ease about letting disjunctions, aporia, and contradictions in myths and religious discourses stand than there is with like phenomena in Polynesian ethnography. The point, then, seems to be that different Polynesian and Melanesian realities display different affinities for our different kinds of theory that might frame accounts of them. But in this intellectual era—which is so questioning of the nature of social reality in terms of the mediating process of representation in language necessary for any construction of reality—we might better say that in anthropologists' traditions of representing Polynesian societies, in contrast with Melanesian ones, structuralist ideology has come to have a special affinity with this tradition of representation, rather than with Polynesian reality.

plain and simple. A critique of these traditions of representation and the historic conditions that gave rise to them, including the current appeal of structuralism for the Polynesian tradition, remains to be done.

Now to offer a brief commentary on the papers in line with the preceding discussions. Gregory Schrempp's paper on Maori cosmogony develops issues that could call into question the structuralist project (e.g., he focuses on discontinuities in both the logic and the rhetoric of Maori cosmological accounts), but he remains self-consciously true to the terms of structuralist analysis. In settling upon temporality itself as a kind of metalogic for structuralist analysis in comparative Polynesian cosmologies, he wavers in his conclusion: "A genuine rethinking would imply more than a recognition of underlying forms, or even of repeating underlying forms within the span of the coming-to-be; it would mean learning to view the coming-to-be itself as form, and as potentially indistinguishable from 'ongoing social life'" (p. 33). He is almost but not quite beyond the strictures of structuralist ideology. Without turning his full attention to rhetorical, performative, poetic aspects of Maori discourse, about which he has hedged, the kind of genuine rethinking he calls for is not likely.

Alan Howard's paper on Rotuman kingship and Valerio Valeri's paper on the Hawaiian legend of 'Umi (which concerns the process by which a conqueror becomes legitimated as king) are both excellent examples of structuralist analysis in the distinctly Durkheimian mode, whereby the point of uncovering cultural logics in indigenous texts is to confirm and baroquely fill out sociological truths. In a very deft application of structuralist ideas to Rotuman myths, in which he illuminates the populist and divine sides of Polynesian chiefs, Howard shows the power of this type of analysis to advance long-standing concerns in functionalist Polynesian anthropology about the nature of political authority in these societies. Valeri explores much the same issues as does Howard, and interestingly he is as much if not more sociocentric, beginning with an interesting comparative discussion of Polynesian hierarchy and European feudalism, and generally using what is independently known about Polynesian social organization from existing ethnography as a base for his interpretation of the 'Umi legend. As suggested previously, Valeri seems to overinterpret the myths, by embellishing his very cogently argued associations in legend through what clearly seem to be his own conclusions. Instead of a discussion of the conditions, poetic, political, and historical, in which cultural texts were constructed and performed, we get the structuralist will to resolve puzzles, to see coherences and the resolution of contradiction. It is at these points that structuralist artifice is most wanting in support.

Adrienne Kaeppler's very interesting paper suggests that changes in political authority are not only indexed by changes in material culture—in this case, the neckline of Hawaiian feathered cloaks—but that objects are both the means and media of political change itself. While Kaeppler employs some structuralist surface terminology such as "transformation," her analysis is actually much more straightforward and conventional: the hegemony of the Kamehameha dynasty froze the flexibility of the preexisting status system in Hawaii, and these changes can be richly understood in terms of the differences between the objects collected during Cook's visits and those of slightly later vintage. Being a museum professional, Kaeppler is more sensitive than most of the authors in this volume to the contexts in which objects are collected and interpreted, and her paper includes interesting observations on how, under the Kamehameha dynasty, "classic" culture was invented through changes and reinterpretations of material culture. It is precisely these sorts of concern that would complexify the structuralist ideology of method, if it were more at issue in this paper.

Huntsman and Hooper's short paper on changes in Tokelauan social organization and cultural categories attendant upon contact with Europeans, and especially in the aftermath of missionization and the deprivations of slavers, is perhaps the most impressive demonstration of the use of structuralist ideas in the volume. It recalls, in a condensed way, Sahlins's similar and influential treatment of change in Hawaii during the immediate decades following Cook's death there (the third chapter of his 1981 essay). What Huntsman and Hooper show is that structuralist ideas in fact have little to do with the discovery of indigenous frameworks of explanation. Rather, applying these ideas revolutionizes anthropologists' models and the puzzles they are designed to solve through Huntsman and Hooper's very sensitive readings of early European accounts and their elicitation of contemporary Tokelauan commentaries on them.

The papers by Michael Goldsmith and Alain Babadzan seem to be operating clearly outside the structuralist project altogether and instead are involved centrally with issues of cultural hermeneutics. A secondary agenda of Goldsmith's excellent paper on the significance of the meetinghouse in the construction of contemporary Tuvaluan culture is indeed to critique the structuralist ideology of method for precisely some of the issues that I have characterized it as eluding. Goldsmith investigates what might be called a "re-invention of tradition" problem (see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). The meetinghouse is central to Tuvaluan identity and, according to contemporary Tuvaluan discourse, always has been, yet through Goldsmith's scholarship it seems to have

been a postcolonial borrowing or implantation. To sort out this kind of puzzle requires different sensitivities than those explicitly displayed in other papers in this volume. Goldsmith directly confronts the poetic and rhetorical aspects of the documentary and ethnographic sources available to him.

With Alain Babadzan's study of the ancestral registers of Rurutu, we have the only paper in the volume that bases itself on such issues as the conditions and media by which indigenous knowledge, history, and cultural texts are produced. He is very much concerned with the historical context of how an oral corpus became written. Like Goldsmith, he sees the reinvention of tradition in this process, but he places special emphasis on the historic context of resistance and dialogue across cultural boundaries. The Rurutu material cannot be understood except as having arisen in dialogue with missionary discourse in a colonial context. The logic underlying the contemporary culture of Rurutu is one of resistance and formation through involvement with other discourses and institutions imposed upon it. As Babadzan says: "We are witnessing an attempt at 'rewriting' history, an attempt which has a dual aim. Firstly, to deny contact and the reality of a conversion imposed by a foreign agent, and secondly, to 'rehabilitate' to some degree a past condemned by missionary teachings" (p. 187). With Babadzan's shift in focus from that of the other papers in the volume, he envisions a very different sort of project for anthropological research on Polynesia than the structuralist one:

We need to surmount two common misunderstandings before proceeding any further with contemporary cultural anthropology in these societies. The first concerns the importance of the phase of acculturation following the arrival of the missionaries; the second common misunderstanding is of the structure and coherence of the syncretic world-view which was gradually formulated after contact with Europeans. A thorough study of the different syncretisms which arose in this region of the Pacific should, therefore, be a major aim for anthropologists in Polynesia, rather than being a stumbling-block for them, given that these syncretisms are *in their turn* disintegrating. This is a necessary condition for the analysis of Polynesian culture, not only as it stands today but also as it was yesterday. (P. 191)

Marshall Sahlins's brilliant, and brilliantly written, comparisons of notions of hierarchy among precontact Maoris and Hawaiians deserve

penultimate place in this collection, because more than anyone else he has internalized as a matter of his own analytic and literary style the structuralist ideology of method in a way that recalls Lévi-Strauss's own mastery of it. Sahlins revives in a most stimulating and ethnographically grounded way the old project and scheme in French scholarship of comparative mythology. He, too, skews the structuralist project in the Anglo-American manner of reading Lévi-Strauss; that is, he wants to take cultural texts for themselves, to use them as vehicles for resolving comparatively long-standing puzzles about Polynesian society that derive, not from indigenous discourses, but from the tradition of constituting at first European and then specifically academic anthropological knowledge about this region of the world. In this great project, indigenous voices and discourses are traces to be reconstructed by discovering their logics. The sheer mastery of sources and sparkle of insight in Sahlins's writing make one almost forget that there could be any other way to understand or know these societies before or since contact.

In his concluding remarks, Edmund Leach equivocates. On the one hand, his comments are characteristically skeptical and curmudgeonly, but what is striking about them is that he no longer argues for structuralism in its Anglo-American form, which he pioneered, but instead advocates a cultural hermeneutics that challenges it. It was in a 1972 volume, *The Interpretation of Ritual*, that Leach, as structuralist, took on Polynesian materials—in that case, an alternative analysis of Tongan kava ritual following a psychoanalytic treatment of the same material by Elizabeth Bott—and quite confidently interpreted them without any particular scholarly knowledge of Polynesia of his own (Leach and Bott 1972). Now, in the first part of his remarks, it can be said that Leach provides a poststructuralist critique. As he notes, structuralist ideology has not really altered the grounding assumptions and characteristics of the narrative that has defined the anthropological tradition of Polynesian studies. In fact, it has reinforced it. Leach critiques the reconstructionist bias of this narrative (or imagery, as he calls this metaframework). He now understands theoretical models as representations, and, in effect, sees that the only structures worth commenting on are in these representations. Like a poststructuralist, he critiques the tendency in Polynesian ethnology, including its recent structuralist form, to construct through comparisons an entity "Polynesian Culture," and he reminds anthropologists that "Pacific Island ethnography, as it now exists, no matter whether it derives from 'explorers' or sea-captains or missionaries or colonial administrators, or Western-educated Pacific Islanders, or even professional anthropologists, represents cultural his-

tory filtered and distorted through the use of European categories of thought" (p. 222). On the other hand, in a few short concluding paragraphs Leach seems to veer back toward an ur-structuralist position that denies the specificity of cultures, but his comments here are too telegraphic to be clearly understood. In a self-conscious effort to end constructively, he does note that the kind of studies in this volume, which deal mostly with the transformation of Polynesian societies in history at the point of early European and nineteenth-century contact, has been successful in breaking with patently European understandings of these societies, and that while structuralists cannot evade a culture-bound framework for constructing indigenous histories, it is important that they attempt this task because "the future inhabitants of Polynesia will need a history which is not only dignified but credible. It is the anthropologists (and the archaeologists) who can potentially provide such a history. That is the goal towards which we should direct our endeavors and towards which some of the contributors to this symposium are already directing theirs" (p. 222). Thus, here is the new purpose and burden of an anthropology—but of a purely Euro-American anthropology as in the past, or one that includes contemporary Polynesian peoples themselves who have never stopped developing their own histories? The unself-conscious crosscurrents in Leach's rambling but, as always, fascinating remarks are a fitting conclusion to a volume that can be read as also sharing these ambivalences about the structuralist ideology of method that dominates it.

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Paul T. Baker, Joel M. Hanna, and Thelma S. Baker, *The Changing Samoans: Behavior and Health in Transition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Pp. 482, maps, tables, references, index. \$49.95.

Reviewed by Lowell D. Holmes, Wichita State University

This is an important book, one that I have been waiting to see published since 1976 when I had the good fortune of enjoying the company of several of its contributors while doing fieldwork in American Samoa. *The Changing Samoans: Behavior and Health in Transition* is the report of the Samoan Studies Project, which was initiated by Paul T. Baker (Pennsylvania State University) and Joel M. Hanna (University of Hawaii) in 1975 as part of the international Man and Biosphere effort "to examine how Samoan utilization of the natural and social environment related to their current socioeconomic behavior and biological characteristics" (pp. 12-13).

The research team for this project consisted of some two dozen field investigators, most of whom were Pennsylvania State University doctoral students, but it also utilized the talents of colleagues in the biomedical sciences and anthropology from the University of California, Riverside and San Francisco, and from the Australian National University, Christchurch Hospital in New Zealand, the University of the South Pacific, and Oxford University.

The Samoan Studies Project was designed to investigate what happens biologically and behaviorally in a population undergoing rapid cultural change brought on by modernization and out-migration. The Samoan people were selected as subjects because (a) the Samoan archipelago represented a relatively self-contained unit; (b) there was abundant literature available to document the demographic, geographic, and ethnographic characteristics of the traditional setting and to provide a chronicle of change; and (c) it was apparent that a large number of Samoans today find themselves in a variety of modern cultural settings as a result of drastic economic change in American Samoa or as a result of the heavy volume of out-migration from all of the islands in the Samoan chain.

Few, if any, other populations have undergone the intense scrutiny experienced by the several Samoan subpopulations, and there is something for everyone in this study. While the concentration is largely on biomedical data, there is also an abundance of information on Samoan life history, socialization and enculturation patterns, coping strategies,

concepts of happiness and distress, work patterns and work capacities, and emotional stress as related to life-style adjustments required in modernized environments.

In a chapter dealing with research design, Baker tells us that the Samoan Studies Project was embarked upon with the following assumptions: (1) that the population was best adapted to the natural and cultural traditions of Samoa, however the researchers assumed a greater geographical, genetic, and cultural homogeneity than actually existed; (2) that there would be an increase in longevity with modernization; (3) that there would be more adverse health effects in a situation involving rapid change, as in the case of migration; (4) that there would be fewer health problems for the young than the old; and (5) that the most serious effects would occur early in the process of change. As the summary chapter "Perspectives on Health and Behavior of Samoans" reveals, not all of the researchers' assumptions were correct, but they did facilitate the collection of a valuable body of data on health modifications within a context of modernization.

This very comprehensive and holistic project was carried out in two phases. From 1975 to 1978 fieldworkers investigated Samoans living in Hawaii and in American Samoa, including the relatively traditional Manu'a group villages. Utilizing questionnaires, interview schedules, and observation, data were collected on fertility, migration, education, genealogy, occupation, and household socioeconomic phenomena. The *Cornell Medical Index* (translated into Samoan), anthropometry, and dietary analysis provided health data. The researchers were also fortunate to have the full cooperation of the U.S. Public Health Service and other departments at the Lyndon B. Johnson Tropical Medical Center on Tutuila in the collection of biomedical information.

The second phase of the project spanned the years 1979 to 1983 and involved the extension of the study to Western Samoa. The data from this area, along with that from the Manu'a group, served as a traditional baseline from which they measured biological and cultural change. It was also during this phase that a study of migrant Samoans living in the San Francisco Bay area was initiated and a program to examine change-related psychological stress in American Samoa was designed.

Some idea of the broad scope of this book and the rich treasure of information it offers can be gained by analyzing the basic structure of the volume, which is built around three themes.

Chapters 2 through 5 deal with the question of how, over time, the Samoans' use of their environment changed along with the changes in

social settings and demographic characteristics. The chapters deal with such specific subjects as "Environment and Exploitation," "Social Settings of Contemporary Samoans," "The Demography of Samoan Populations," and "Mortality Patterns and Some Biological Predictors."

The second theme, involving chapters 6 through 9, addresses the issue of how Samoans respond socially and psychologically to change, with particular emphasis on psychological and physiological stress. Here the chapters are titled "Life Histories," "Changing Socialization Patterns of Contemporary Samoans," "Samoans Talk about Happiness, Distress and Other Life Experiences," and "Hormonal Measures of Stress."

In chapters 10 through 15 the contributors examine the biological changes that have taken place in Samoan subpopulations with varying degrees of modernity. These chapters focus on "Growth and Body Composition," "The Morphological Characteristics of Samoan Adults," "The Diet and Nutrition of Contemporary Samoans," "Work in Contemporary and Traditional Samoa," "Blood Lipid Studies," and "Blood Pressure of Samoans." This is followed, in the opinion of this cultural anthropologist and Samoa specialist, by one of the most interesting chapters of the book—"Samoan Coping Behavior."

As much of the book indicates, Samoans as a group are being forced in varying degrees to cope with an increasingly complex social and cultural environment—one that is a confusing blend of things Samoan and Western. To understand how Samoans are meeting this challenge, it is important to explore the nature of Samoan modal personality and to review the traditional cultural resource upon which they draw—*fa'a-Samoa*, which involves a particular pattern of kinship rights and obligations as well as specific concepts of authority, status, and reciprocity.

The chapter discusses various kinds of dilemmas Samoans must deal with: coping with poverty and unemployment, coping with illness and crises, coping with language. The most interesting discussion, however, because of the recent controversy involving Margaret Mead's and Derek Freeman's divergent views on Samoan aggressiveness, is that which examines coping with anger. Since I am among those who believe along with Margaret Mead that Samoans tend to be a gentle and emotionally bland people, some explanation must be made for the reputation of Samoans as a violent people in places like Hawaii and California and the alarming rise, during the last fifteen to twenty years, in the incidence of rape, homicide, and suicide in American Samoa and the United States. While Freeman would see their violent behavior as a manifestation of an inherent aggressive nature, some explanation must be made concerning variations in its manifestations through time. Alan

Howard, who authored the chapter, suggests that an answer might lie in the conclusion drawn by Eleanor Gerber. Thus he writes that the problem modern Samoans may have in coping with anger

is that when Samoans migrate the structure of supports for authority, including parental authority, is eroded, leaving the burden of controls on the individual. But to the extent that the individual has been trained to rely on external authority and social submission, the appropriate channeling of underlying anger may not occur. The result is an increased variability in ways of handling anger and a greater frequency of socially inappropriate outbursts of hostility. (P. 414)

The material which I found of questionable value in this otherwise excellent book was in the chapter that deals with Samoan perceptions of happiness and distress—subjects that I believe are very difficult to study cross-culturally. Fortunately, the reader is warned (but not until the end of the chapter) “that the data in this chapter must be treated with caution” (p. 200). Having fallen on my face too many times myself trying to modify devices like the “life events scale” for use in data collection in Samoa, I question the validity of the findings of J. C. Scheder’s study in Ta‘ū village. In several years of working with the people of this village on four separate field trips, I find them very stoical and am not sure that they have “extremely strong” reactions at all, certainly not to the birth of a child or to a child leaving home, since children leave home all the time to reside within the households of other branches of the family, often for extended periods of time. Nor do I think that Ta‘ū villagers would normally conceive of ranking some life experiences as more or less satisfying than others unless they were forced by an investigator.

I also question the data on economic variables and happiness gathered in Salamumu village, Western Samoa. I am not sure that I know what it means to be “happy” in my own culture, let alone trying to understand if members of another are happy. Is it really possible to depend on Samoan informants to make accurate and meaningful differentiations concerning whether a certain event in their lives makes them feel “very happy,” “pretty happy,” or “not too happy” or even “very happy,” “happy,” or “not so happy”? I believe the investigator was himself troubled with all this happy business since after his first try he stated that “either Salamumu is the happiest place on earth or the survey question didn’t work too well” (p. 198). I would be inclined to select the second possibility.

The discoveries of the Samoan Studies Project researchers regarding the health ramifications associated with modernization were anticipated in some cases; for example, a decline in death rate from infectious diseases, a rise in the rate due to degenerative diseases, and a relative rise in blood pressure as we proceed along a continuum toward modernization. But in a number of cases data produced unexpected results. The following are examples.

When traditional people move in the direction of modernization, fertility usually declines as education and employment opportunities are increased for women. This has not been true in Samoa, where the stable nature of the traditional family (*'āiga*) has encouraged large families and has provided the child care that makes them possible.

While the modified diets associated with modernization usually result in weight increases for traditional peoples, the Samoans appear to have surpassed everyone else in the world in their capacity to achieve massive weight gains. We are told that this is probably less a matter of modified diet, however, than it is a matter of a reduction in daily energy expenditure. These weight gains also result in decreased work capacity for Samoans in Tutuila and Hawaii, but strangely enough, this excessive weight does not seem to be associated with cardiovascular-related mortality as it does among American blacks and whites. This problem of obesity would seem to be inevitable and irreparable considering the association of corpulence with high status and the importance of food and feasting socially and ceremonially.

It was also found that Samoans do not follow the normal pattern of traditional populations as they modernize in experiencing increases in growth rates and stature and an earlier onset of puberty. Despite the fact that they have improved nutrition, better control of infectious disease, and the elimination of parasites, the Samoan inhabitants of Hawaii and California are atypical.

Other unexpected findings concern nutrition and blood lipids. While traditional populations practicing subsistence agriculture normally have a diet that is low in fat and protein intake and this intake can be expected to increase with modern diets, it was found that all the Samoan subpopulations investigated, regardless of degree of modernity, have much the same relative caloric intake from fat, protein, and carbohydrates. Nor can it be said that there has been the anticipated rise in cholesterol and triglyceride levels that usually accompanies modernization. While cholesterol levels were found to be somewhat higher in Tutuila and in Hawaii than in the more traditional populations of Western Samoa, values everywhere were below United States levels despite

the fact that Samoans are often eating a United States-type diet, have high levels of body fat, and have a relatively low physical fitness index.

Emotional stress is the price that all preindustrial peoples pay for progress, and Samoans are no exception. Both life history data and studies of hormone excretion document the presence of extreme stress for Samoan islanders living in modern urban areas, and some of the aggressive behavior associated with migrants in such places may be directly related to this problem. It seems appropriate, therefore, that the project directors, when pinpointing areas for future research, call for more sophisticated examinations of how corticosteroid hormones relate to the stresses associated with modernization, particularly in women since subjects studied to date in regard to this problem have all been male.

*The Changing Samoans: Behavior and Health in Transition* is a book that should be in every anthropologist's library regardless of his or her area interest, because it deals with basic behavioral and biological ramifications of modernization that must be taken into consideration in any analysis of non-Western cultures today. And the book should be recognized as an indispensable tool for any Pacific specialist, as it presents demographic and biomedical data on Samoans that have been unavailable up to now. Moreover, any college or public library that does not proceed with utmost haste to acquire this volume will be depriving its patrons of a major anthropological source on a Polynesian people in transition.

Hovdhaugen, Even, *From the Land of Nāfanua: Samoan Oral Texts in Transcription with Translation, Notes, and Vocabulary*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1987. Pp. 224, bibliography. \$55.00.

Reviewed by Richard Moyle, University of Auckland

During linguistic fieldwork in 1982–1983, Even Hovdhaugen recorded six stories (*tala*) and one genealogy (*gafa*) from two men in the Western Samoa village of Neiafu, Savai'i. These are presented here in both their original and normalized forms, the former being partly in the spoken (*k/g*) phonology, the latter entirely in the written (*t/n*) phonology. More than half the book consists of a vocabulary of the Samoan words found in the texts. The translations are accurate, though occasionally stilted, and the annotations comprehensive.

Publication of versions of Samoan oral tradition is nothing new—the

earliest occurred more than a century ago—but this present work differs in two major ways. Because the entire contents were collected at one location, the stories are particularly valuable source material for the study of variant forms and meanings of words, for such differentiation does occur on a geographical basis. The Samoan language is not an indivisible entity. Earlier publications (e.g., Milner 1961, 1966) have dealt with special regional uses or avoidances of individual words, but Hovdhaugen presents a useful body of material by which the nature and extent of such regionalization may begin to be assessed. To this end, the separate vocabulary section contains not only variants (in some instances, more than one) of words appearing in published dictionaries (Pratt 1911; Milner 1966), but also words absent from these earlier publications.

The second subject dealt with directly is the “to publish or not to publish” question with respect to Samoan *gafa*, an issue of more ethical than linguistic importance. The avidity with which Samoans greet published genealogies may be judged by the observation that, at an Auckland bookshop specializing in the Pacific, the Samoan book second in sales only to the Bible is the \$80 reprint of the first volume of Krämer’s *Die Samoan-Inseln* (1902–1903), which contains selective versions of the genealogies of all major *matai* titles in both American and Western Samoa. The present *gafa* partakes of part of the one in Krämer (1902–1903:1, 241–243), which ends with the Mālietoa lineage, but appears to establish the importance of the Tau’ili’ili and Sāmoeleōi families in Neiafu itself. The recitation here begins atypically and ends prematurely. An issue of equal if not greater importance, however, is the decision to publish at all. With the approval of his informants “and many people in Neiafu” (p. 13), and despite the objections of “some Samoans” who “reacted quite strongly,” Hovdhaugen decided to publish “to reward [the Neiafu people] for their openhearted hospitality” (*ibid.*).

Historico-legendary stories of the *tala* classification, as opposed to *fāgogo* (fables), are ascribed a cultural importance far beyond their linguistic or narrative content. The localization of historico-legendary events within the narrators’ or their village’s lands is frequently done for purposes of self-aggrandizement, or as *pine fa’amau* (identification marks) supporting local claims to positions of political authority or social privilege, or for both reasons. To make such claims of knowledge is to make claims of power; to publish such stories may, in view of the authority with which the printed word is regarded, unwittingly elevate the status of those claims. And because audience expectations and per-

ceptions vary when listening to *fāgogo*, Hovdhaugen's frequent citations of my own collection of these fables (Moyle 1981) in support of the "accuracy" of his recorded *tala* suggest a functional unity that does not exist. Neither the versions of the six stories presented in this volume nor any others published elsewhere are necessarily "authoritative," "true," or "correct" outside the locations where they were originally told. Indeed, it is the prerogative of each village to sustain its self-esteem by means of versions favorable to itself. In any dynamic society, cultural creativity and regeneration depend heavily on variation. But although the general outlines of the six stories (about Tigilauma'olo, Nāfanua, Papatea, Ti'iti'iatalaga, 'Alo'aloelā, and Pava) are well known throughout Samoa, publication indiscriminately makes available details, particularly near the end of the narratives, which might well be denied to or modified for some sections of society—for example, rival claimants to positions of authority—were the stories to remain orally transmitted. At this point, the collector must look beyond the willingness of his informants and assess the likely impact of publication upon the wider public.

The publication of the *gafa* represents an acute case, as public disclosure among Samoans is usually confined to gatherings related to *matai*-title investitures at which the identity of those present is known. Many *gafa* are written in *matais'* notebooks and safely locked away, to be consulted in private when required. Within each *gafa* are crystallized the bases for the maintenance of the status quo and the justification for ownership of land and social privileges. Indiscriminate public disclosure leaves them vulnerable to manipulation by those with competing claims for the same material or social assets. Whatever interest Samoans may attach to their linguistic contents is far outweighed by their value as social treasures and as such, they exist to be guarded for use on special occasions.

I see the impact of this book as simultaneously positive and negative: positive for non-Samoans and for Samoans living outside their country, interested principally in the linguistic and narrative content; and potentially negative for Samoans who prefer to live their culture rather than read about it.

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Lowell D. Holmes, *Quest for the Real Samoa: The Mead/Freeman Controversy and Beyond*. Postscript by Eleanor Leacock. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey, 1987. Pp. xii, 209, bibliography, index, photographs. Cloth \$29.95. Paper \$14.95.

Reviewed by Thomas Bargatzky, Institut für Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik, Universität München, West Germany

Lowell Holmes, a careful ethnographer . . .  
—Bradd Shore (1983:18)

*Quest for the Real Samoa* draws heavily on material already published elsewhere, as Holmes himself admits (p. ix). Long passages from previous works are sometimes reprinted with only changes in the phrasing and the inclusion of a few new sentences (compare, for example, Holmes 1974:67-72 with the corresponding section on religion in *Quest* [pp. 65-71]). Hence, the book does not bring much new information to the student of things Samoan or the observer of the Mead/Freeman controversy.

The book is organized into a preface, ten chapters, and a postscript written by Eleanor Leacock. Chapters 1 and 2 describe, from Holmes's point of view, the background of the Mead/Freeman controversy and the history of his own involvement in Samoan studies, as well as his relationship with Margaret Mead. Methodological problems of restudies are discussed and Mead's research in Samoa is outlined. Chapters 3 to 7 present an ethnographical sketch intended to serve as a foil to the assessment of the Mead/Freeman controversy. Samoan social organization, religion, the life cycle, and culture change are dealt with and a portrait is given of the community of Ta'ū in Manu'a, American Samoa, where Holmes did much of his fieldwork. Chapter 8 is titled "Assessing

Margaret Mead," chapter 9 treats psychometric assessment of the Samoan character, and chapter 10 is called "Assessing Derek Freeman."

Holmes's Samoan ethnography is generally reliable, but he makes some mistakes that should not pass unmentioned, even when they do not bear directly on his discussion of the Mead/Freeman controversy. I will deal with these first and later turn to Holmes's manner of dealing with the Mead/Freeman debate.

### **Holmes's Samoan Ethnography: Some Mistakes**

In the Samoan language, there exists a class of polite and respectful words and courtesy phrases that are substituted for ordinary words when one wants to be polite. They are not a "chief's language" because they are neither used exclusively by chiefs, nor exclusively when addressing chiefs (pp. 28-29). Hence, this class is more appropriately named "vocabulary of respect" (Milner 1961).

Four sovereigns of kingly status (*tama-a-aiga*) exist in Western Samoa, not two as Holmes erroneously claims (p. 47). These are: Mālietoa, Matā'afa, Tupua Tamasese, and Tuimaleali'iifano. They can claim certain honorific titles (*pāpā*), which are conferred on them by groups of orators traditionally entitled to do so. The *pāpā* TuiAtua normally goes to Matā'afa and TuiAana to Tuimaleali'iifano, but Tupua Tamasese, too, can claim them. Mālietoa is Gatoaitele and Tamasoali'i.

Holmes describes the *auluma* as being "composed of the unmarried women of each family" (p. 42) and later says, "Today, the organization is composed of unmarried girls . . . widows of all ages, and, in many villages, the wives of untitled men" (p. 77). There is an alternative description of the *auluma*, however, that Holmes does not mention. According to Schoeffel (1977; 1978:75), all the women *born* in a community or *adopted* by its families forever belonged to this community's *auluma*. Wives did not belong to it, since they were taken from other communities.

In the representation of a dying chief's testament (*māvaega*) as to who should be his successor, Holmes commits an error of quite capital magnitude. A son in Samoa does not normally succeed automatically to his father's title of *matai* (elected head of a Samoan family). Nomination by the former title holder in his last wishes (*māvaega*) is one of the points taken into consideration by the family assembly that confers the title on a successor. Now, Holmes writes: "The role of *māvaega* in title succession is not mentioned in other literature and may be an innovation. Certainly it is unique to Manu'a" (p. 44). Here the mind boggles. *Māvaega* are certainly no innovation and certainly not restricted to

Manu'a, since the nomination of a successor by a dying title holder is mentioned, for example, by Ella (1895:597), Bülow (1898:101), and Stair (1897:75); and under the name *māvaega* it is expressly listed by Krämer (1902:480), Schultz (1911:52), and Gilson (1970:31-32), to name only sources accessible to Holmes. He mentions, for example, an English translation of Krämer's magnum opus (Rarotonga, 1941) and repeatedly quotes from Gilson. The *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, too, should be available in Wichita.

Next, Holmes divulges the mysteries of Samoan prehistory: "By the first century A.D. the Samoan islands had been settled by emigrants from eastern Melanesia. . . . Archaeological evidence suggests that negroid-type people (probably from New Guinea) did not arrive in the Fiji islands until about 1000 A.D." (p. 190 n. 1). This curiously outdated passage on Samoan prehistory is taken word-for-word from Holmes's earlier book, *Samoan Village* (Holmes 1974:8). Now, either *Quest* was hastily patched together without care being taken to update references, or it has escaped Holmes's attention that settlement of the Fiji-Tonga-Samoa area by members of the Lapita Culture took place between circa B.C. 1500 and B.C. 1000 according to recent syntheses of Polynesian prehistory (Bellwood 1978:311; Jennings 1979; Kirch 1984:48-53; cf. Kirch 1986; Janet Davidson 1981:101). Yet the only reference he gives is to a 1933 work by physical anthropologist W. W. Howells, which, by the way, is not listed in the bibliography, where we can only find Howells's *Mankind in the Making* (rev. ed., 1967). The paper of 1933 is Howells's "Anthropometry and Blood Types in Fiji and the Solomon Islands" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 33 [4]: 279-339)—not an up-to-date source on Samoan prehistory, I dare say.

#### Holmes's Discussion of the Mead/Freeman Controversy

The purpose of *Quest*, however, is to discuss the Mead/Freeman controversy that began with publication of Derek Freeman's book *Margaret Mead and Samoa* (Freeman 1983a). The target proper of Freeman's criticism are those generalizations in Mead's works that portray the Samoans as an easygoing people, without deep emotions, almost free from jealousy, with easy solutions for every problem, living in a paradise of free love for the young people, and with an adolescence free from storm and stress. Though it was soon realized that there are contradictions between Mead's data and her own generalizations (see Raum 1967 [1940]: 42-43, 293-294), the myth created by Mead became enshrined in the anthropological, sociological, and psychological literature. To

explode this myth was Freeman's aim. To assess his achievement, we have to take into account not only his book, but also his sometimes very detailed responses to his diverse critics (see Freeman 1983b, 1984a, 1984b). What is more, his critique is not a personal attack on Mead, as some critics who fail to distinguish between a personal attack and criticism of a doctrine would have it (e.g., Lieber 1983; McDowell 1984:127; Weiner 1983:910). Under these circumstances, and considering that in the wake of the publication of his book Freeman was subjected to an amount of aspersion and vilification unprecedented in the history of anthropology—I return to this later—one is indeed anxious to learn what Holmes, one of the most resolute defenders of Margaret Mead, has to say in his new book. *Quest*, however, is a big disappointment. And it is depressing reading.

Very generally, I am dismayed that Holmes neglects to consider Freeman's detailed responses to earlier criticism. Holmes merely elaborates his criticism published elsewhere (Holmes 1983a, 1983b) and reissues charges to which Freeman had already replied (Freeman 1983b, 1984a). None of this is incorporated into Holmes's book. Holmes merely repeats what he has said elsewhere. During the three to four years between Freeman's responses and the publication of Holmes's book, there should have been ample opportunity to revise his manuscript and tackle Freeman's detailed and—to my mind—mostly convincing replies. Considering that we are concerned here with anthropological issues of fundamental importance, I can think of no excuse for such conduct, because I cannot bring myself to believe that Freeman's responses should have passed unnoticed by Holmes.

Holmes, it is true, differs with Mead on several issues and he is explicit on this in chapter 8. Hence, he is far from being an uncritical admirer of Mead, taking her every word for holy writ. Yet, despite the conspicuous contradictions between his own and Mead's results, he has always been committed to the message that "the validity of her Samoan research is remarkably high" (p. 103). This view he had already professed in his Ph.D. thesis, *A Restudy of Manu'an Culture* (1957:232, cited in Freeman 1983a:105, 325 n. 22). *Quest* is a desperate attempt to buttress this general conclusion and, to do so, Holmes not only gets entangled in self-contradictions, but he also resorts to omission and evasion. First, let me present some examples of self-contradictions.

### *Self-Contradictions*

*Unwed Mothers and Children Born Out of Wedlock.* Holmes writes that "unwed mothers face very little stigma, and their offspring are

welcomed into the family" (p. 78). In the same vein, he holds that "an unwed mother faced only the short-lived anger of her parents and brothers" (p. 106). Yet we learn that "abortion . . . does occur when an unmarried pregnant woman feels that the man responsible for her condition will not marry her, or that family censure will be severe" (p. 81).

*Virginity.* On one hand, Holmes writes: "As Mead says, 'Sex activity is regarded as play; as long as it remains informal, casual, meaningless, society smiles' (1930:84)" (p. 106), and young men and women "have had numerous affairs and flirtations" by the time they marry (p. 78). On the other hand, we are told that "Samoan society certainly did not sanction sex outside marriage" (p. 122), and "proof of virginity at marriage is applauded by the families of both the bride and the groom" (p. 80). In fact, virginity is applauded to such an extent that in cases of non-virgins, "many a girl has been saved embarrassment by the substitution of a membrane containing animal or chicken blood for that normally produced by a broken hymen" (p. 80). One may indeed be astonished at Mead's smiling society that goes to such lengths to uphold the image of virginity. There is yet more to say about it, however.

Though many parts of *Quest* are taken verbatim from articles and books already published, this is not always so. The passage just quoted, for example, is taken from an article (Holmes 1957), later published as a book by the Polynesian Society. In the article, what is now a "membrane containing animal or chicken blood," however, was "a chicken bladder full of blood" (Holmes 1957:413). The chicken, of course, has no bladder (see Freeman 1983a:353 n. 48). What do we make out of this? Metamorphosis? Another "Samoan mystery"?<sup>1</sup> Or just a spoof by informants who told Holmes the chicken bladder story? There may be something in the contention, after all, that the Manu'ans sometimes dupe anthropologists!

*Sexual Freedom in the U.S. and Samoa.* Holmes holds that a "certain amount of sexual freedom is enjoyed by Samoan young people but *probably no more than is characteristic of their counterparts in the United States*" (p. 78; emphasis added). Compare this with: "in American culture, which denies normal heterosexual outlets, young people may be forced, through anxiety during the dozen odd years between puberty and marriage, into less preferred patterns of sexual behavior" (p. 106; emphasis added). Now, if young people in Samoa enjoy sexual freedom probably no more than is characteristic of their counterparts in the United States who are denied normal sexual outlets, it follows from

sheer force of logic that young Samoans, too, are denied normal heterosexual outlets. Yet, we learn that in Samoa "society smiles," as Holmes, parroting Mead, would have it. Society smiles with regard to youngsters' "informal," "casual," "meaningless" sex activity (p. 106; Mead 1930:84)! Let it smile. This reviewer can but weep about such desperate attempts to make Samoan reality conform with Mead's idyll.

The story goes on. I regret I will now have to turn to what I call omissions and evasions. First, omissions.

### *Omissions*

*On Freeman's Interactionist Viewpoint.* I have already commented on Holmes's neglect to take into consideration Freeman's responses to earlier criticism. Moreover, other sources relevant to an assessment of Freeman's stance are not considered either. This is vexing since Holmes seems intent upon labeling Freeman as a narrow-minded ethologist. For example, Holmes writes: "Although Freeman rejects the label sociobiologist, his main orientation appears to be ethological and his tendency is to rule out the forces of culture as an explanation of behavioral differences between young people in the United States and Samoa" (p. 13; emphasis added). Quite apart from the fact that there is no basis for such a charge in Freeman's *Margaret Mead and Samoa* (in which Freeman subscribes to an interactionist point of view of human evolution in which the genetic and the exogenetic [cultural] are interacting parts of a single system), a careful researcher intent upon assessing Freeman's position should also consult his other publications. Elsewhere, Freeman has taken pains to clarify his position in relation to the interaction of the genetic and the cultural (Freeman 1980, 1981), yet none of these papers is taken into consideration by Holmes. What I consider particularly annoying in this regard is that Freeman's "The Anthropology of Choice" (1981) pops up in the bibliography of *Quest*, yet nowhere in the text itself is this paper mentioned. Thus, to a casual reader of *Quest* consulting the bibliography, Holmes appears as a careful reviewer trying to weigh the evidence before passing judgment about Freeman. Holmes, however, only added the paper to the bibliography but failed to take its content into account.

*Holmes on Samoan Titles for Europeans.* The treatment of Freeman's interactionist approach to human behavior arouses the suspicion that it is Holmes's aim to discredit, through omission, Freeman's status as a cultural anthropologist. The way Holmes deals with Freeman's status as a Samoan researcher is another example to corroborate this suspicion.

Freeman claims that his status as the holder of a Samoan chiefly title gives him privileged access to the Samoan cultural universe. Holmes comments on this claim as follows:

He is not the first anthropologist, however, to be made a chief. My title, awarded in Ta'ū village in 1954, is Tuife'ai (King of Fierce Cannibals), but I have never considered this honor anything more than a friendly gesture (or perhaps a good joke) that is not to be taken seriously by anyone. Since holding a title involves both family responsibility and a certain amount of control over family property, including land, it is hardly something that Samoans grant foreigners *seriously*. (P. 148; Holmes's italics)

This is almost a word-for-word repetition of a statement Holmes made earlier (Holmes 1983a:930), to which Freeman has replied as follows: "For Holmes's information the title of Logona-i-Taga (lit. 'Heard at the Tree-Felling') which was conferred on me in a formal installation ceremony in 1943, after I had been adopted into a Samoan family, is a prominent title (*suafa fa'avae*) of great antiquity . . . in the constitution of Sa'anapu" (Freeman 1984a:403). What is more, Logona-i-Taga is not a *matai* title, but a *manaia* title, and Freeman, as the holder of this title, not only had access to chiefly assemblies (*fono*), but "as a *manaia* I was also afforded contact with numerous Samoan girls and young women, many of whom, as I was able to speak their language fluently, became my close friends" (Freeman 1983b:161). This is important since it bears directly upon Freeman's claim to represent not only the chiefly viewpoint on the issue of sexuality, but also the attitude of girls and young women.

Freeman's assessment of the standing of the title of Logona-i-Taga I can fully confirm on the basis of my own fieldwork in Safata in 1980–1981 and 1985 (Bargatzky 1988a, 1988b).<sup>2</sup> I would like to mention two additional aspects. First, while it is certainly true that sometimes (as in Holmes's case) "titles" are conferred on Europeans as a joke, Holmes forgets to mention that titles (this time without quotation marks) are also conferred on Europeans to honor them. Such is the case, for example, with German businessman Gerhard Schwegmann, who befriended Laupepa, the late son of Western Samoa's head of state, Mālietoa Tanumafili II. In order to honor Schwegmann, one of Laupepa's chiefly titles was conferred on him: the *ali'i* title Papali'i Tele; probably not even Holmes would maintain that Laupepa held his title as a joke. Second, Holmes intimates that there is a connection between the literal meaning

of a title and its dignity, a funny-sounding title necessarily being a joke. This is not so. There are many titles in Samoa that, when translated, sound funny but are, nevertheless, dignified titles of good standing.

I cannot bring myself to believe that Holmes, given his involvement in Samoan studies for more than thirty years, is unaware of all this. The only conclusion for me, then, is that he omits these facts in order to devalorize Freeman's status as a Samoan title holder and thus render less significant the latter's observations on Margaret Mead and Samoa.

*On Holmes and His Witnesses.* To enhance the credibility of Mead's account, Holmes quotes some statements of indigenous Samoans. For example, he quotes the highly respected La'ulu Fetaui Matā'afa (whom he mistakenly believes to be the "wife of the Prime Minister of Western Samoa"),<sup>3</sup> who stated in a letter to the editor of *Newsweek* magazine (28 February 1983) that "neither Margaret Mead nor Derek Freeman represented our ancient land, its customs or its way of life" (p. 137).

But at least one Samoan authority fully supports Mead's conclusion, Holmes writes:

One man, Napoleone A. Tuiteleapaga [sic], is definitely known to have had close ties with Mead as both informant and interpreter. He is quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* article (14 Apr. 1983) as saying, "Margaret Mead was 100% right in her book." And in an interview in the *Samoa News* (11 Feb. 1983), published in American Samoa, he stated, "She got to know people well and wrote an accurate analysis of what she saw. Why didn't these anthropologists condemn Mead's book when she was alive? I'll tell you why, they waited until Mead is gone because they knew she knew what she was talking about." (P. 138)

Here we have the Samoan authority, after all, who personally knew Mead and who is incensed about those anthropologists who disagree with her. Who is this remarkable man? Tuiteleapaga (not Tuiteleapaga) is, among other things, the author of a book titled *Samoa Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (New York: Todd and Honeywell, 1980). This book was reviewed in *American Anthropologist* (84, no. 3 [1982]: 715–716), and the reviewer records how he first met the author:

Since most of my informants up to this point were extremely reserved . . . I was somewhat astonished by this extroverted

man who claimed, among other things, to be a Rosicrucian and a songwriter. . . . He . . . claimed to be interested in anthropological research and was at that time engaged in a study of Samoan sexual behavior, primarily through participant observation. When I left Napo's house he gave me a copy of a study he had done of old Samoan "superstitions." The manuscript contained some very detailed and impressive information concerning Samoan charms, taboos, deities, and spirits. Mostly I was impressed by the fact that the paper turned out to be chapters IV and V of George Turner's *Samoa, A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before* (1884). . . .

The introduction to the book is by Margaret Mead, and it is interesting because she has managed to reproduce Napo's style of writing almost exactly. But the most puzzling aspect, which surely can be chalked up to insufficient proofreading, is Tuiteleapaga's statement in the dedication (p. iv) that Margaret Mead wrote the introduction "after reading the whole manuscript in her office in New York shortly after her death."

Maybe it is this transcendental relationship with Mead that enables Tuiteleapaga to assert that she was "100% right." I regret that Holmes has denied us this piece of information about his witness. The book review in question cannot have escaped his attention, because it was written by a certain Lowell D. Holmes from Wichita State University, who is identical, I presume, with Professor Holmes, the author of *Quest* (cf. Holmes 1982).

### *Evasions*

Where Mead's cause cannot be advanced by omissions, Holmes turns to evasions. Let me present some examples.

*On Authoritarian Tendencies in Samoan Society.* On page 162 of *Quest*, Holmes quotes Freeman's position that there are authoritarian tendencies in Samoan society and that these tendencies may lead to mental and emotional stress and outbursts of uncontrollable anger (Freeman 1983a:216, 218, 222). Holmes contends that "other observers of the Samoan scene, however, do not corroborate Freeman's claim regarding the oppressiveness, authoritativeness, and lack of flexibility of the Samoan social system" (pp. 162–163). To support his statement, he quotes Grattan (1948:14, 158). The quotations, however, do not sup-

port the point in question since they deal in a very general way with such things as the reception of strangers, the laws of hospitality, and the complementary character of status groups. In addition, Holmes refers to Gilson (1970:15) and Brown (1910:59) to the same effect.

While it is certainly true that the Samoan family system is complex and that different observers can get different impressions, this in itself is not sufficient to do away with Freeman's claim regarding the authoritarian tendencies in Samoan society. No unbiased observer, I dare say, would deny that these tendencies do exist. Untitled Samoans, especially children and adolescents, are supposed to *usita'i*, "obey," "obey the instructions" (Milner 1966). One Samoan informant further explained to me that *usita'i* carries the meaning of obeying orders, obeying at once, without hesitation, without any more questions. *Musu*, the state of sullen unwillingness to comply with orders, is a culturally tolerated outlet for Samoans when they feel that demands are too hard. It is beyond my comprehension how a serious student of Samoa, obviously obsessed to salvage even the most untenable of Mead's generalizations, can bring himself to deny all this. In this context, Holmes's reference to John Williams's observation (p. 164), noted in 1832, is not relevant since it refers to interfamily relations. The whole issue of authoritarianism as discussed by Freeman, however, refers to *intrafamily* relations. Williams, by the way, noted in the very same 1832 journal that the "King" in Samoa "possesses absolute power over the persons of his subjects" (Moyle 1984:283). This quotation shows merely, however, that we have to take great care, when evaluating early ethnohistorical sources, to disentangle the shifting frames of reference.

*On Ta'ū and Sā'anapu.* In a paper published well before Freeman's book came out, Holmes has this to say concerning cultural continuity in Samoa:

Why a given culture such as Samoa, which shares a common Malayo-Polynesian heritage with those of eastern and central Polynesia, would have remained relatively unchanged in its traditional cultural patterns while the others have been drastically stripped of this is a question which must intrigue any student of cultural change. . . .

In the area of social organization very little change has taken place since Samoa was first described by missionaries in the middle of the nineteenth century. (Holmes 1980:189, 193)

Elsewhere Holmes asks: "Why has this island group during 150 years of European contact been able to retain so much of the traditional way of life . . . ?" (Holmes 1974:94) and it is always the entire Samoan group to which he refers. Since publication of Freeman's book, however, Holmes and other Freeman critics go to great pains to demonstrate that Sā'anapu, the community in which Freeman carried out most of his fieldwork since the 1940s, is culturally not the same as Ta'ū, where Mead did her fieldwork (see Holmes 1983a:932; Holmes 1983b:8-10). In *Quest* he repeats his argument (pp. 148-151) that "Sā'anapu has been for some time culturally more modern than most outlying villages in Western Samoa" (p. 150). A daily bus provided communication as early as 1954 with the port town Apia, "with its commercial establishments, theatres, nightclubs, libraries, and government buildings" (*ibid.*). On the other hand, Manu'a in 1954, when Holmes did his fieldwork there, was much the same as it had been when Mead worked there—very isolated, with interisland vessels calling only about once a month. There were no vehicles and only a handful of salaried jobs; almost everyone was engaged in subsistence agriculture. Throughout Upolu, Holmes claims, villages "have for some time been heavily involved in working such cash crops as cocoa, bananas, copra, and coffee. People tired of working in agriculture could also find a fair number of jobs in Apia, which has been a cosmopolitan community with substantial numbers of European inhabitants for over a century" (*ibid.*).

This is a typical example of Holmes's evasions. Immediately after the passage just quoted, for example, a long citation from Gilson (1970:178) is inserted that proves nothing since it refers to Apia on the north coast of Upolu, but not to Sā'anapu on the south coast. In addition, Holmes quotes J. W. Davidson (1967:238) to prove his point. The quotation in question refers to 'Anapu Solofa, the high chief of Sā'anapu, who had encouraged his kinsmen to develop their own plantations for commercial agriculture. Holmes fails to tell us, however, that on page 290 of the same work, Davidson writes that in Sā'anapu traditional and progressive practices existed side by side with traditional ones prevailing, for example, in matters of the customary basis of chiefly and political organization.

To Holmes's claim that Sā'anapu cannot be compared with Ta'ū, Freeman has responded thus:

Yet another of Holmes's inductivist errors is to have assumed that because in 1954 there was a daily bus service from

Sā'anapu to Apia that this is a measure of the condition in which my researches in Sā'anapu of 1941–43 were undertaken. In fact, at the time of those researches Sā'anapu had to be reached (from Apia) by a very rough track (for much of the way) over a 3,000 feet high thickly forested mountain range that took up to six or more hours to traverse on foot, as there was no regular transport by sea. Sā'anapu was thus, at that period, a considerably more remote settlement than was Ta'ū in 1925–26, at the time of Mead's researches, when a vessel from the naval station in Tutuila called about every three weeks with supplies, so that there was easy and regular contact with the port of Pago Pago. (Freeman 1983b:145)

Relative to the south coast of Upolu and particularly the district of Safata where Sā'anapu is situated, Gullestrup says "the south coast road was not constructed until the mid-1950's. Until that time, the internal communication between the villages was restricted to the use of canoes and foot-paths through the woods, while persons wishing to go to Apia had to cross the mountains in the interior, a walk of about 10 hours" (Gullestrup 1977:43). It was as late as during World War II that U.S. troops stationed in Samoa built a road from the north coast (Leulumoega) to Salamumu in the south, thereby connecting the hinterland of Sā'anapu with the north coast (*ibid.*; see also Harrison 1978:124), "but only with the actual road connection did it become possible for buses to go to Apia" (Gullestrup 1977:45). Hence, Safata in the 1940s, when Freeman began his investigations there, was not that different from Manu'a as Holmes and others would have it. On the contrary, it was very much like the Manu'a Holmes describes, where, as late as 1954, "one traveled between Ta'ū village and Fitiuta in exactly the way Mead had done, either by muddy mountain footpath or by long-boat" (p. 149).

What is more, until 1968, "no extensive modernization processes have been undertaken [in Safata], either in the agricultural sector, the industrial sector, or the public health sector; only the education sector can muster something like a process of modernization" (Gullestrup 1977: 136). Hence, "the south coast area has over the years been regarded as a *backward* area without any political importance. An essential cause of this . . . has no doubt been the *isolated* situation of the south coast, both in relation to the villages among themselves, and in relation to the rest of Upolu" (*ibid.*:72; emphases added). It is true that since the connection of the cross-island road to the south-coast road, Safata's position

with regard to communication has improved when compared with other districts such as, for example, Aleipata and Palauli (see Pirie and Barrett 1962). To any unbiased reader, however, it should be clear by now that Holmes's and others' claim of an essential difference between Manu'a and Sā'anapu is preposterous. It is merely wishful thinking, therefore, to maintain that Freeman's criticism of Mead's generalizations is nugatory because of the alleged incomparability of these two communities.

*On Competition and the Noble Art of Definition.* Holmes says that he saw Samoan culture "as considerably more competitive than Mead did" (p. 103). As areas of competition, he mentions, for example, boys' games (p. 75), the zeal of untitled men to distinguish themselves as good servants to their *matai* and family (pp. 76, 93), interest in the ceremonial and traditional aspects of Samoan life (pp. 93-94), competitive spirit in schooling, the wish to have the best carpenter, the best coxswain, the best dancer (*ibid.*), oratory (pp. 50, 93), and rank (p. 122). To this, Sunday donations must be added (p. 71). This is an impressive list indeed and Holmes cannot help saying that "in view of Mead's long discussions of competitiveness in the village political organization of Manu'a, it is surprising to find that she characterizes Manu'an culture as one where competition is disparaged and played down" (p. 122). In view of such an admission it is highly annoying to realize that Holmes classifies, among other things, "competitive spirit" and "sex activity data" under "ethos" (p. 119), because he later declares: "It should be noted that Freeman did not mention that my disagreements with Mead were over matters of ethos, an area which Campbell believes is so much a matter of emotional response that 'ethos may indeed be beyond the realm of scientific study'" (Campbell 1961:340) (p. 155).

This, then, is Holmes's strategy: where Mead's conclusions are so obviously at variance with the facts that they cannot be explained away, he classifies the areas of disagreement as aspects of "ethos" and declares that ethos is beyond scientific scrutiny. This is immunization strategy.<sup>4</sup> I fail to comprehend, moreover, how a society like Samoa—where "rank and prestige constitute the focal point . . . to which all other aspects of life are secondary in importance," where "every installation, wedding, and funeral of a chief affords an opportunity to gain prestige and raise one's relative position within the village through the display of wealth" (p. 122)—how such a society should provide a "comfortable ideological environment, allowing a smooth and unrestricted maturation process" for young people (p. 34). What is more, not only chiefs' rites de passage

offer opportunities to gain prestige (Tiffany and Tiffany 1978). As every student of things Samoan knows, Samoan life consists of a never-ending series of *fa'alavelave* (trouble, family business) of different magnitudes, each *fa'alavelave* reopening the arena for status competition.

I could go on and on, but I have confined myself to some characteristic examples—"gems," if you like—of Holmes's scholarship in *Quest*. To be more specific yet would necessitate more space and I feel that I have already overtaxed the reader's patience. I want to conclude, therefore, with the question Holmes asks at the beginning of *Quest* but fails to answer convincingly: "Why have I written this book?" (p. vii).

### Cultural Relativism and Conformity

*Quest* is slipshod as to ethnographic detail, fraught with contradictions, and omission and evasive in its attempt to salvage Mead's conclusions and to discredit Freeman's refutations and his status as a scientist. To account for the fact that such a book could have been written and published in the United States, we must look at the intellectual environment. A scandal bigger than *Quest* itself is the fact that this book has been hailed as "a timely contribution to the picture of Samoan culture" (Bateson 1987), "fair and lucid . . . instructive and informative" (Theroux 1987:49), and helping "to set the record straight in a most illuminating manner . . . fascinating reading" (Montagu 1987).

To recapitulate: Freeman was not the first researcher to criticize Mead's Samoan ethnography. Raum, for instance, in his *Chaga Childhood*, first published in 1940, noted among other things that "Dr. Mead deals a destructive blow at her own conclusions by including in her book a chapter on 'The Girl in Conflict,' in which she describes cases of girls making a choice on unconventional behaviour" (Raum 1967 [1940]: 294). Larkin, in her review of the second edition of Mead's *Social Organization of Manu'a*, has remarked that "Dr. Mead has observed the Samoan way of life but lacked the necessary insight to interpret what she observed" (Larkin 1971:222). Freeman, however, was the first one to devote a comprehensive and detailed scrutiny to the factual basis of Mead's conclusions in a book that has drawn wide publicity beyond the field of anthropology. This is very likely due to the circumstance that *Coming of Age in Samoa* "clearly presented a message that some in America very much wanted to hear—myth or not. It is part of a large literature of self-reflection on American society produced in the twentieth century, suggesting that in the search for 'a more perfect union'

Americans could look to other societies and other standards for models" (Jarvie 1983:82). In American cultural anthropology, this attitude found its way into the doctrine called "cultural relativism." Mead's conclusions in *Coming of Age* are informed with the tenets of this doctrine, hence Freeman's refutation of them is at the same time a critique of cultural relativism.<sup>5</sup>

Freeman's critique evoked vilification, opprobrium, and aspersion to a degree unprecedented in the history of anthropology, mostly on the part of anthropologists who would consider themselves to be firmly grounded in cultural relativism. In many of the reviews, there is a "right-or-wrong-our-Mead" attitude that is hard to comprehend for an observer outside the United States. Or, to quote Jarvie, who puts it more politely: "That some of the reviews written in the United States have been defensive not only of nurture, or culture, theory, but also of Margaret Mead's status, is hard to understand" (*ibid.*:83).

But this is not the whole story, alas! What I consider particularly shocking in this connection are statements by anthropologists such as Lieber (1983:15) and Ember (1985:910), who intimate that Harvard University Press should not have published *Margaret Mead and Samoa*, or that the book should have been immediately rejected by the anthropologists who read it in manuscript. Ember even went so far as to proclaim that Freeman "is not a scientist" (*ibid.*:909) because he did not comply with standards that I consider to be so rigid and unrealistic that, should we decide to adhere to them, 90 percent of what makes up anthropology would not be science any more, I dare say.<sup>6</sup> I cannot help feeling that, for some American anthropologists, criticizing Mead is tantamount to un-American behavior. If so, one may understand why Holmes—who, mind you, is very critical of Mead himself—should have felt it necessary to downplay the amount of disagreement between his own findings and Mead's conclusions. There is a telling article, "A Controversy on Samoa Comes of Age," in which the author has this to say:

In 1970 anthropologist Raoul Naroll of New York State University at Buffalo asked Holmes to contribute a chapter to a handbook on methodology he was preparing. He wanted a chapter on Mead's mistakes in Samoa. Naroll remembers: "Holmes wouldn't do it. He was afraid to criticize her. He thought he would lose grants. That doesn't mean he would have, but he thought he would." Holmes says he declined because he didn't have time to write the chapter. Today he still agrees with Mead's basic observations about Samoa. (Marshall 1983:1043)

I repeat this passage since it has already been quoted by Freeman (1983b:176 n. 46) and remains unchallenged so far. Compare this with the fact that in *Quest* Holmes tries to convince the reader that he finds the validity of Mead's Samoan research is "remarkably high" (p. 103). Can we conclude from all this, then, that anyone who dares to criticize Mead's Samoan ethnography too openly in the United States may face hard times?

I want to make it clear that it is not my opinion that Holmes should be assessed by his new book alone. To assess him, his other works have to be taken into account. As far as I am involved, I can only state at the end of this review that it makes me sad that Holmes, after a long career as a professional anthropologist, has seen fit to author *Quest for the Real Samoa*.

#### NOTES

1. Apologies to Bradd Shore (1982).

2. Safata is the name of a district on the south coast of Upolu in which Sā'anapu is located. My own fieldwork was conducted in Fusi, another Safata community. A general knowledge of the more important aspects of the ceremonial constitution of Safata's communities is part of the stock of knowledge, however, of any *matai* of Safata.

3. Former Western Samoan member of parliament and, among other things, pro-chancellor of the University of the South Pacific, La'ulu Fetaui Mata'afa is the *widow* of former Prime Minister Mata'afa, who died in office in 1975. As a *matai*, she holds the orator's title La'ulu. Western Samoa's prime minister in 1983 was Tofilau Eti.

4. Marilyn Strathern, contra Freeman, speaks to the same effect when she contends that "falsifiability in the strict sense surely rests on the replication of experience" (Strathern 1983:78) and that, therefore, Freeman's criticism is invalid. To this I would answer that only in the "hard" sciences, such as physics and chemistry, is experience reproducible, if at all, in experiment. To argue that, therefore, Mead's conclusions cannot be criticized when these conditions are not met—and they cannot be met—is to take the realm of behavioral and historical sciences out of the pursuit of criticism. This is immunization strategy.

5. Cultural relativism, according to Holmes,

is both a methodological tool (demanding objective, unbiased data collection) and a philosophical and theoretical principle, calling for open-mindedness with respect to cultural diversity. It requires that no single culture be held up as offering the "right" or "natural" way of doing things or valuing things. It reminds people of all nations that each society should be free to solve cultural problems according to their own time-tested methods without condemnation from those who would choose different solutions. Having been trained in such a philosophical tradition, Mead, myself, and the bulk of American anthropologists would believe that behavior associated with adolescence or other aspects of the life cycle must be evaluated *only in terms of the cultural context in which they occur*" (p. 17; Holmes's italics).

That sounds noble at first glance, yet cultural relativism is methodologically untenable since it is self-contradictory (cf. Schmidt 1968). In addition, it is ethically dangerous because it denies us the platform to criticize and condemn philosophies proper that propagate intolerance, nationalism, and racism if these attitudes belong to the "time-tested methods" of the society under consideration. Adolf Hitler, to take an extreme example, would have rejoiced to learn that each society should be free to solve its problems according to its own methods without foreign condemnation and undoubtedly would have questioned the legitimacy of the Nürnberg trials (*ibid.*:171-172).

6. In reviews written by American authors, alarm is often expressed regarding the potentially injurious impact of Freeman's book on the reputation of anthropology as a scientific discipline. Anthropology, it is argued, might appear as a "soft" and less exact science than it purports to be. To prove his point, Shankman (1983:38), for example, quotes from an editorial published on 15 February in the *Denver Post*: "The real loser may be anthropology's reputation as a science. If its methods haven't made quantum jumps forward since Mead's day, the whole discipline might find a better home in creative literature." To this I would comment that exactness is not an abstract value, but a relative one. It depends on the context of the problem to be solved, circumstances of data collection, data quality, nature of sources, and so on, and it is for issues such as these that standards of exactness must be developed and applied. To salvage anthropology's status as a science by adopting Ember's (1985:907) rigid standard for the solution of problems of any kind would be foolish since in so doing we would not improve anthropology, we would do away with much of it. It is no coincidence, I think, that simultaneously with this concern for anthropology as an exact science, the scientific character of Clifford Geertz's thick description-approach is disputed in the United States (see Shankman 1984) while it is appreciated by modern British social historians (e.g., Cannadine 1983). This leads me to suspect that the acrimonious, enraged anti-Freeman outbursts we are now so amply supplied with are but symptoms of some deeper crisis of the cultural relativistic tradition in American anthropology—challenged as it is, these days, by both creationist obscurantism and sociobiological simplification.

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Lola Romanucci-Ross, *Mead's Other Manus: Phenomenology of the Encounter*. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin and Garvey, 1985. Pp. 230, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Cloth \$24.95.

*Reviewed by Karen P. Sinclair, Eastern Michigan University*

Lola Romanucci-Ross was part of the New Guinea-Admiralty Islands Expedition (1963-1967), sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History. The expedition—comprised of Theodore Schwartz (to whom she was married at the time), Margaret Mead, and Romanucci-Ross—set out to collect information about the lesser-known islands of this Pacific archipelago. At that time, Mead had already written extensively about Pere village; Ted Schwartz, during previous fieldwork, had made a thorough study of the Paliau movement and its political and religious implications for the Manus. Of the three, only Romanucci-Ross was without prior experience in the area. Twenty years later, Romanucci-Ross has written about that field experience in diarylike form in *Mead's Other Manus*. Apparently uncomfortable with Mead's characterizations of these people, Dr. Romanucci-Ross reexamines Mead's conclusions in light of her own experiences. In turn, she is prompted to reevaluate the entire anthropological enterprise:

For *Mead's Other Manus* I have a dual reference: the first is to those ecological groups in Manus that Mead did not study nor 'see'. She nevertheless described and characterized these groups in terms that her Manus Tru of Pere village used as they 'saw' and talked about them. Secondly, "Mead's Other Manus" are the Manus Tru themselves, still committed to a belief in the wisdom of many facets of their traditional culture (with a proper dash of the Dionysian with which Mead hesitated to endow them) and much more like the rest of the world than those models of "cultural transformation" depicted in their presumed "rapid culture change" in *New Lives For Old*. They pondered,

as I did, the meaning of their presumed "rapid culture change" which Mead had pronounced "painless and irreversible." (xiii)

Romanucci-Ross sets herself some formidable tasks. She has at least three purposes in writing this book. First, her discontent with and distrust of standard ethnographic reporting has led her to examine the nature of the relationship between fieldworker and subject. In so doing, she hopes to explore the processes of discovery and awareness that comprise what she terms "the phenomenology of the encounter." Second, she wants to provide a portrait of the culture acquired during her research on Sori Island, and in Mokerang, Pere, and Lorengau. She has very definite ideas about what should constitute such a description: "a historical dimension; the conscious models of behavior of the culture bearers; structural-functional aspects of the culture (i.e., how events are placed and how the system works); a nomothetic dimension (the search for general laws); and an idiographic dimension (determining how to treat a case that does not fit in with the general laws)" (viii). Third, and finally, she disputes Mead's conclusions. In her view Mead, problem oriented and dogmatic, overstated the success of cultural transformation in the Admiralties. It is little wonder that the book, and the reader, are overloaded. Ironically, one of the major strengths of this book seems to be Romanucci-Ross's recognition that these goals are at times at odds with one another.

She tells us in the foreword that she is experimenting with traditional ethnographic form to overcome the disjuncture between her experience as a fieldworker and her reading as a professional anthropologist: "As I lived among the Manus groups to be presented here, I found it extremely difficult to reconcile what I had read in classical anthropological writings, as well as relevant monographs, with what I myself noted and experienced 'among the primitives'" (vii). Indeed the spurious objectivity of fieldwork, the notion that remote locales and peoples will yield themselves up to the unbiased scrutiny of the Western-trained observer, has all but fallen into disrepute. It would be fair to ask if anyone believed that anymore. In recent years, the nature of anthropological inquiry has been analyzed from a variety of perspectives. Carrier, for example, has recently written:

One aspect of all this has been a debunking, expressed less civilly at some times than at others, of objectivist or positivist anthropology and anthropologists. The idea that a village's society is a neutral, objective reality that the anthropologist is

supposed to observe and describe came to be more and more dubious. Those anthropological ancestors who were thought to have used this method came to be more and more suspect. And their models of objective social or cultural structures came to be more and more disreputable. (1986:521)

Shutz, Berger, Luckman, and Merleau-Ponty provide the intellectual foundations of Romanucci-Ross' work. She argues in the foreword that our understanding of other cultures must not be encumbered by the imposition of a Western, and therefore alien, perspective. She claims: "Our ability to generate knowledge of other cultures has been hampered by the superimposition of the investigator's myths, metaphors, and similes onto the myths and experiences of others" (viii). In this volume her intention is to examine the ways in which she came to know the Manus. The implication appears to be that by presenting a diarylike account of her days and nights in the Admiralties, she will allow us to see the Manus unsullied and uncorrupted by Western preconceptions. This is not to be a standard ethnography. She writes: "In pursuit of the threads of my own coordinates in field research I hope to illuminate the process through which an anthropologist learned about a people and a culture, not in a mode known as topical but through the flow of events" (ix).

The advantages of such an approach are considerable. Participants and observers understand their experiences in very different terms, while individuals within the same society approach daily predicaments, not to mention cosmic uncertainties, with dismayingly variety. No matter how much one holds to a belief in cultural pattern, inconsistencies present themselves with alarming frequency in the course of fieldwork. While none of this is exactly novel, a thorough documentation of how one learns another culture would be an important addition to the anthropological literature. Furthermore, Romanucci-Ross is working with a group of people who demonstrate various degrees of familiarity with what has already been written about them. She cannot help but notice that their conceptions of themselves are often at odds with those of the anthropologist's finished product, in this case Mead's. While this quandary does not lend itself to ready resolution, its complexities deserve sophisticated treatment. And here Romanucci-Ross is aided by the fact that several anthropologists have worked among the Manus and that at least one of them, Mead, left meticulous field notes for future comparisons. She has been given, then, a wonderful opportunity to explore a serious epistemological predicament. In a clear and well-writ-

ten volume, Romanucci-Ross presents the reader with a great deal of information. But the real issue is whether she provides, in her analysis and presentation, an effective remedy for the problems besetting the discipline.

If Romanucci-Ross is to describe accurately and completely the nature of her encounter with the Manus, she must provide us with considerably more information about the nature of her position in the field. In a book of this type, her reticence is all the more surprising. While she claims that this is not a book designed to chart inner voyages, there are nevertheless certain external aspects of her situation that elicit comments from the Manus, duly reported, but upon which she remains silent. She tells us next to nothing about her previous experiences with Mead. Yet here Romanucci-Ross is a second wife whose husband, along with his first wife, had already accompanied Mead on a well-publicized expedition. Mead had written extensively about the Manus and was herself a monument in anthropology. Is it possible to believe that none of these considerations had an effect on a young fieldworker? All of the above clearly had an effect on the Manus; their influence could hardly have been unfelt by Romanucci-Ross. Yet Mead's presence is a significant enough factor that more than two decades later, and almost a decade after Mead's death, her name appears in the title.

In *Mead's Other Manus*, we catch brief glimpses of Mead and elliptical looks at the two women together; it is from Mead's letters (see below) that a somewhat more complete portrait of their relationship emerges. Schwartz is gone some or most of the time; it is never clear which. During his absences, she must look after their young son and at times (presumably school holidays) her daughter Deborah, who disconcertingly appears and disappears with little explanation. When Romanucci-Ross burns herself rather badly, she leaves by boat to seek treatment, taking the baby but leaving Deborah. How did the Matanakor react to this (not to mention Deborah)? At one time, the Matanakor are convinced that Schwartz has been lost at sea. How does Romanucci-Ross react to this news and, perhaps more to the point, how do they react to his reappearance? There are far too many of these unanswered questions and unexplored arenas for this book to be considered reflexive in any meaningful way.

Her choice of a diarylike mode of presentation is not entirely successful. To some extent the book provides a chronological accounting of what she accomplished and when. Yet there are significant, unexplained time gaps without entries. More disconcerting, many entries contain technical anthropological information that scarcely belongs in a

field diary, while at the same time this ersatz diary also includes events and material that were published or came to light many years after the ostensible time of the entry. In any event, it is not at all clear how an uncritical detailing of daily events in any way obviates Western bias.

In all she seems to have confounded how we learn with what we learn. Indeed, the real problem of this book is to be found not in its unresolved tension between ethnography and epistemology, but rather in Romanucci-Ross's contradictory position as both a positivist and a phenomenologist. Throughout the text and in the appendices there are detailed reckonings of kinship and totemic systems, of court cases and residence patterns. Ultimately, the Manus social system emerges with a reality of its own, very much unconstructed by the observer's perceptions. Her chapter headings reflect the intent, rather than the content, of the book.

That Romanucci-Ross has such a positivistic bent ought not to be surprising. She has previously demonstrated her commitment to reliability, accuracy, and validity in the collection and reporting of anthropological materials. Elsewhere, she has written: "There is such a thing as getting more information and more accurate information over a long period of time" (Romanucci-Ross 1983:89). She clearly maintains that the more rigorous the fieldwork, the longer the stay, the more successful the anthropology. Few would take issue with this, especially in light of the recent Mead-Freeman imbroglio. She writes of her Mexican fieldwork: "My 'view' from the first year would have been descriptively incorrect of the culture even though it was true to the time, true to my experience of it, true to the way it was presented to me" (*ibid.*:89). Unless she underwent a radical change of heart, she should have found writing the present book extraordinarily taxing. Objective truths, those that concede little to experience, can find no place in a phenomenologist's universe. The landscape of the foreword becomes, in the course of the book, besmirched by incongruities that seem to me to be beyond reconciliation. High-flown phenomenological utterances have yielded to incomplete ethnography.

This commingling of raw data and subjective impressions is especially startling given Romanucci-Ross's previous assessment of Mead's methods (1976). Mead, so we learn from Romanucci-Ross, went to great lengths to separate speculation from reporting. At the time, Romanucci-Ross wrote about Mead: "Her main 'method' in research, if we must use the term method, is not to do violence to the reality, or to do as little as possible, and to keep correcting and restudying possible distortion factors" (*ibid.*:447). Her relationship with Mead, perhaps inevitably,

was very complex. There can be little doubt that Mead's sense of priority (in all ways), her dogmatism, and her opinionated dismissals of things that did not please her (Romanucci-Ross's meticulously assembled field notes were waved away as being too much "like Gregory's" [p. 170]) must have cast a long shadow. Romanucci-Ross is at her most convincing when she demonstrates, which she does quite nicely, that Mead ignored aspects of cargo behavior because they conflicted with her notions of Manus rationality. Similarly, Romanucci-Ross reveals considerably more complexity in her analysis of cultural transformation and retention than was depicted in Mead's *New Lives for Old* (1956). These are the strongest parts of the book; when she compares her conclusions to those of Mead, she is almost always able to produce evidence that makes her deductions more compelling. One cannot help but wonder, then, why she felt called upon to take frequent sideswipes at Mead, when direct attacks are both more professional and, in this case, far more effective.

It is perhaps, as so many defenders of Mead pointed out during the Freeman controversy, important to realize the context in which Mead was writing. Of an occasion when Romanucci-Ross and Schwartz pay her a visit, Mead writes: "During this six weeks, I have been in the village but not of it, for life is not so set up that the people come and go freely as they do when I am working alone. Ted and Lola are working with single informants, taking texts and making tapes, in contexts where a mob of onlookers is a real disadvantage" (1977:275). After reading Romanucci-Ross's introduction and foreword, the reader is left with the impression that she and like-minded individuals have a monopoly on understanding the complexities of the anthropological enterprise. In that light it is that much more surprising to find in Mead's own letters the following:

Uniqueness, now, in a study like this, lies in the relationship between the fieldworker and the material. I still have the responsibility and the incentives that come from the fact that because of my long acquaintance with this village I can perceive and record aspects of this people's life that no one else can. But even so, this knowledge has a new edge. This material will be valuable only if I myself can organize it. In traditional field work, another anthropologist familiar with the area can take over one's notes and make them meaningful. But here it is my individual consciousness which provides the ground on which the lives of these people are figures. (*Ibid.*: 282-283)

From reading this passage, it is clear that Romanucci-Ross has played down both Mead's understanding and her formidable ego. Had she allowed Mead to emerge, the book would have been considerably more interesting and more honest.

*Mead's Other Manus* provides us with a new view of the Admiralties, one that supplements those already available through the previous work of Schwartz and Mead. Along the way, Romanucci-Ross has chosen to tackle some very difficult problems in contemporary anthropology. That she is not always successful should deter neither future investigators nor present readers of this book.

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*Reviewed by Donald Brenneis, Pitzer College*

This collection of essays is an invaluable contribution to our understanding of politics in Fiji, a singularly timely and thorough work that provides the broader historical and social context in terms of which the tragic 14 May 1987 coup becomes more comprehensible. The subtitle, indeed, is perhaps even more appropriate than Brij Lal might have expected, as the themes and patterns considered in the volume clearly delineate critical underlying aspects of the April 1987 general election, the May coup, and subsequent events in Fiji.

The book is composed of five major chapters by various scholars and a

brief introduction and an exceptionally helpful and provocative postscript, both by Lal. The book is quite coherent; the essays speak to each other—though not always in agreement—quite effectively, a relatively rare accomplishment in edited volumes. Contributors represent three different disciplines; several are Fiji citizens, while others are foreign scholars.

The first chapter is by Ahmed Ali, a historian and former cabinet minister. Ali's essay, drawn from his 1980 history of Fiji politics, focuses on the period 1874–1960. It is quite comprehensive; I found the detailed discussion of Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna and the development of the Fijian administration particularly interesting.

Roderic Alley, a political scientist, focuses on the development of party politics in the 1960s, with the 1966 elections serving as a critical event. His account is clear, evenhanded, and well documented, as well as important for an understanding of subsequent partisan activities.

The third chapter is taken from Robert Norton's 1977 monograph on race and politics in Fiji. "Colonial Fiji: Ethnic Divisions and Elite Conciliation" delineates what Norton considers to be an increasing accommodation in ethnic political relations, one mediated in large part by leaders of the ethnic Fijian elite. He is particularly effective in addressing false comparisons with other Commonwealth nations, ones where, in his view, ethnic divisions are both deeper and more central to political life. As he writes, "To depict politics in Fiji simply as ethnic conflict is to impoverish a rich and complex story of nation-building that has evolved a procedure for handling seemingly irresolvable contradictions" (p. 66). This is a critical caution to keep in mind in interpreting 1987 events; "ethnicity" may seem to be a simpler and, for some groups at least, politically quite useful explanation of the coup, but it is unlikely that it captures the complexities of what has actually taken place.

Lal, although trained as a historian, has done a fine bit of political science in his chapter, a consideration of politics between independence in 1970 and the 1982 general elections. His essay is particularly important in pointing to the ongoing concern of Fijians for their central role in political life. In a somewhat prophetic paragraph, he writes: "Many Fijians still appear concerned, constitutional guarantees to the contrary, that only a Fijian-dominated Alliance government will protect their heritage and rights. A government headed by high chiefs has been in power since independence, and in the eyes of many Fijians this is only natural and just and they desire its continuation. . . . Concerted efforts by the NFP to dislodge the Alliance from power would suggest that it has not yet recognised the dire consequences that await the Indians

should it ever capture government" (p. 79). It is critical to note that it is not solely Fijian *ethnic* dominance that is an issue here but, more specifically, the continuation of *chiefly* power.

Lal is also helpful in documenting the various minor parties and factions that developed during the 1970s. His treatment of Butadroka's Fijian Nationalist Party and, particularly important in relation to the contemporary situation, the Western United Front is especially enlightening.

Ralph R. Premdas, a political scientist, provides a more abstract and analytical argument in the final chapter. He focuses first on exchanges between former Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara and then opposition leader Jai Ram Reddy concerning a "government of national unity" proposed by Ratu Mara in the late 1970s. He then considers this debate in terms of two models for postcolonial ethnic relations, one consensual, the other "consociational." He argues for the latter model, one that draws on groups' pragmatic concerns and involves considerable willingness to bargain and compromise. Finally, Premdas critically considers Alley's position, one that he considers could have been tenable in the mid-1970s but not subsequently. Ethnic interests have so diverged and tensions so increased, he argues, that the formerly conciliatory elite actors central to Alley's account are less committed to such a course of action. While Premdas raises a number of compelling points in this argument, I did not find myself fully convinced, in large part because a complex range of issues was reduced, more or less, to the single dimension of ethnicity.

In many ways Lal's thoughtful and engaging postscript is the most important chapter in the book. He delineates political activity in Fiji between 1982 and 1985 and provides a detailed account of the economic, social, and educational issues dominating the early 1980s. His account of this period, in fact, includes the first real consideration of Fiji on the international scene in which the United States, the Soviet Union, and other non-Commonwealth nations are seen as important and concerned players. The focus of the postscript, however, is on the emergence of the Fiji Labour Party (FLP). In addition to his own excellent account of this critical development, Lal also includes the full text of Dr. Timoci Bavadra's manifesto for the FLP, first published in *South Pacific Forum* in 1985.

Although Lal claims in his introduction that, given its primary focus on the implications of ethnicity, the "volume is by no means a comprehensive attempt to cover all facets of Fijian political life" (p. x), we are given a very rich and multidimensional picture of Fiji, one that represents the considerable intraethnic divisions characteristic of indepen-

dent Fiji as well as the diverse areas in which Fiji citizens are drawn together irrespective of ethnic identity. It is a collection that both explains and informs, at the same time making any simplistic interpretations of the coup untenable.

Dorothy Ayers Counts and David R. Counts, eds., *Aging and Its Transformations: Moving toward Death in Pacific Societies*. ASAO Monograph no. 10. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1985. Pp. 336, references, index. Paper \$14.75. Cloth \$28.00.

*Reviewed by Ellen Rhoads Holmes, Wichita State University*

Regardless of the criteria societies use for categorizing people as old, the older segment of most populations throughout the world seems to be increasing—very gradually in some instances, but increasing nonetheless. Concomitantly, research on aging and the aged has also become more important. While anthropologists have been relative latecomers to gerontology, the body of literature on cross-cultural aspects of aging has grown significantly in the last few years. Published research on aging in Pacific Island societies has been mostly isolated articles in journals and chapters in more general books. *Aging and Its Transformations* is a welcome addition to the data base.

The book originated in a discussion session at an annual meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania and progressed through increasingly formal presentations to this final product. What the editors call "the ASAO process" might easily be called the "anthropology of aging process" as several very basic volumes in this area have developed similarly, such as Cowgill and Holmes's *Aging and Modernization* (1972), Christine Fry's books *Aging in Culture and Society* (1980) and *Dimensions: Aging, Culture, and Health* (1981), as well as Fry and Keith's *New Methods for Old Age Research* (1986). Counts and Counts have succeeded in presenting a coherent treatment of aging in the Pacific, which effectively reaffirms the value of the comparative approach so characteristic of anthropology.

The editors' introductory chapter provides a context from which to view the remainder of the book. Drawing on the literature on general anthropological studies of aging, other Pacific studies, and the case studies in this book, they direct our attention to contrasts between industrial and preindustrial societies, variant criteria for classifying individuals as old, and differential role options and activities. They also suggest the usefulness of such distinctions as healthy versus decrepit per-

sons, domestic versus public spheres of activity, and good death versus bad death for interpreting aging cross-culturally. The themes that structure the book are "the ideologies of aging and death; aging and dying as processes; changes in gender roles as a result of aging; negotiation of status as people grow old or enter the category of the dying" (p. 2).

These themes receive variable emphasis in different sections of the book. Part one is concerned with "Aging and Gender," with chapters by Karen Sinclair on the Maori, Michèle Dominy on New Zealand Pakeha women, and Juliana Flinn on Pulap, Caroline Islands. "Aging, Gender, and Dying" is the heading of part two, which includes chapters on the Marquesas Islands by John Kirkpatrick, the Marshall Islands by Laurence Carucci, the Kaliai of West New Britain by Dorothy and David Counts, and the Vanatinai of Papua New Guinea by Maria Lepowsky. In part three, "Aging, Death, and Dying" is considered in William McKellin's chapter on the Managalase of Papua New Guinea; Dan Jorgensen's on the Telefolmin, also of Papua New Guinea; and Naomi Scaletta's on the Kabana of West New Britain. Part four, "Conclusion," consists of a single chapter by Victor Marshall.

These chapters contribute much to our understanding of the cultural dimension of aging. In the passage through the life cycle, for example, status may be affected by many factors. Gender is one such influence, and one of the more interesting chapters relevant to this issue is Lepowsky's description of the sexually egalitarian Vanatinai. But other factors also shape the aging experience—avoidance patterns, type of descent system, being spouseless or childless, and, most importantly, ideology and cosmology. Several of the authors make very effective use of biographical sketches to illustrate the options, dilemmas, and coping strategies of aged individuals in particular cultural contexts, such as the plight of a widower in Pulap, the potential for a woman to be powerful and highly respected in Vanatinai, and Scaletta's detailed account of a woman's death by sorcery.

A major contribution of this book is the information it provides on death and dying. Although these issues are typically considered a logical part of gerontology, few cross-cultural studies have provided much detail about whether or how the death of an old person differs from that of other persons. *Aging and Its Transformations* fills some of this void and in so doing gives us rich detail about some of the "complex and exotic cosmologies" of the Pacific, where concepts of death may include distinctions between "loss of life" and "passing away," where natural death is believed not to occur or to be restricted to the very old, where death may be reversible, and where spirits abound in many forms and with the potential for good or evil relationships with the living.

The concluding chapter by sociologist Victor Marshall, "Conclusions: Aging and Dying in Pacific Societies: Implications for Theory in Social Gerontology," is another asset to this book. Much of his discussion focuses on North American social gerontology and the theoretical perspectives that characterize it, for example, age stratification, disengagement, and the "life course perspective." The Pacific case studies clearly demonstrate a concern with the life course rather than a restricted focus on old age only. Marshall seems to appreciate the "emic" approach that anthropologists strive for, in this instance in the elucidation and interpretation of age categories. In considering the social status of the aged as reflected in these studies, he concludes that "age status is situational rather than fixed and achieved rather than ascribed. This leads to a view of the life course, and of passage through the life course, as negotiated" (p. 261). Elaborating on the latter point, Marshall contends that the Pacific Islanders described do not simply follow a predetermined script of age-appropriate behavior according to gerontological theory, but actively negotiate the life course. This point might be debated, but it does follow from the biographical sketches in the book. Finally, his discussion of death is structured around contrasts in North American and Pacific Island attitudes and interpretation of this event and Marshall's own theoretical work on aging and dying. Having begun his chapter with a statement that "theory in social gerontology is not highly developed" (p. 252), Marshall seems to find evidence in this volume and other related research that anthropology has much to contribute to further development of gerontological theory.

*Aging and Its Transformations* is a valuable resource for Pacific specialists, anthropologists, and other social scientists interested in aging, and should also find an audience among those concerned with world-view. I had scarcely finished reading it when I began using some of the information in my course on the anthropology of aging; others will surely do likewise.

Miriam Kahn, *Always Hungry, Never Greedy: Food and the Expression of Gender in a Melanesian Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. 187, plates, figures, maps, tables, appendices, references, index. Cloth \$34.50.

Reviewed by Rena Lederman, Princeton University

Well over a decade ago, Marshall Sahlins (*Stone Age Economics* [New York, 1972]) constructed a provocative contrast between those "original

affluent societies" that, while spare in the material trappings of life, nevertheless appeared to foster satisfaction through a neat fit between their ends and their available means, and societies of the market in which a sense of "scarcity" is reproduced amidst material plenty. One of the enduring contributions of that argument to anthropological discourse has been to affirm the culturally constituted character of human "needs." Mary Douglas (*The World of Goods* [London, 1980]) has likewise argued that while economists have made it their business to think about how people make decisions concerning the allocation of resources between competing ends (or "wants"), they treat those ends themselves as givens. What is missing, and what anthropology can offer, is a culturally sensitive theory of consumption itself.

*Always Hungry, Never Greedy* helps us along the path to such a theory by providing an ethnographic analysis of ideas and practices concerning food in Wamira, a matrilineally organized, coastal community in the Massim region of eastern Papua New Guinea. The Wamirans are an intriguing case for a number of reasons. Living in a dry zone with a degree of climatic unpredictability, they have innovated an extensive irrigation system to channel river water to their taro gardens. But despite their relatively intensive production techniques, they are not bent on increasing production, and in fact have elaborated social attitudes and conventions that, in contradictory ways, emphasize abstinence. The dominant idiom of Wamiran culture, according to Miriam Kahn, is "famine" (see especially chapter 2).

Kahn is quick to point out that although the Wamirans say that they are always hungry and, in particular, that they never have enough taro, in fact these statements ought not to be taken literally. Her own observations and measurements of nutritional intake, soil quality, crop yields and the like (chapter 3) suggest that the Wamirans have an adequate diet. She discusses central Wamiran myths (e.g., chapter 4), affinal tensions mediated by pork and piglet exchanges (chapter 5) and intramale conflict played out in the course of taro cultivation (chapter 6), local beliefs concerning creativity and the regeneration of life (chapter 7), and finally types of public feasts (chapter 8)—paying attention to food symbolism throughout. Through these discussions Kahn shows how idioms of famine and hunger are ways of talking about the fundamental "greediness" of human nature, the threat this nature poses to social relationships, and, therefore, the need for its control. Men in particular express these concerns with regard to their dependence on women and, in another way, on other men.

In her account of affinal tensions, Kahn suggests that Wamiran men face the classic matrilineal "double bind" insofar as "male solidarity

[within patrilocal hamlets] is threatened by men's needs to make alliances elsewhere to secure offspring" (p. 74). Men seek to escape their dependence on women in two ways. First, they engage in exchanges of piglets and pork with their wives' relatives: Because pigs are seen as "female surrogates"—both as naturally fertile and as sources of food—their manipulation and control can be made to stand for control over female reproductive powers. Second, Wamiran men seek to circumvent their double bind altogether through a complex of ideas and practices relating to taro cultivation. For Wamirans, "taro are people" (p. 90). By controlling taro production, men see themselves as producing "children" without female intervention (although, in fact, women are very much involved in the practical processes of taro production, just as they are also in the case of pigs).

Kahn does not critically reexamine the matrilineal puzzle itself, particularly its assumptions concerning the priority of male solidarity. In view of ongoing revisions in our understanding of the existence of corporate "groups" in Highland New Guinea and elsewhere, drawing Wamira into this comparative context might have been productive. However, as she notes (pp. 149–150), her symbolically informed focus on food in Wamiran culture sheds light on gender ideas and relationships in a manner that is likely to facilitate comparisons between Wamira and cultures of the Highlands and the Sepik with regard to "sexual antagonism" (or the politics of gender). Moreover, insofar as gender and food ideas in Wamira are the conceptual anchors of a complex of fears concerning the antisocial, "inner" character of persons, they bear on the larger, comparative literature on personhood.

Kahn's thematic focus on food symbolism whets our appetite for more on other matters as well. Throughout *Always Hungry, Never Greedy*, we learn suggestive facts about contemporary socioeconomic transformations. In chapter 1 and elsewhere, we learn that Wamirans have left their homeland in search of urban employment in startling numbers and, because of local population growth, that absentees are unlikely to be able to return home. Very strong expectations concerning reciprocity obtain between rural and urban Wamirans (e.g., pp. 19–20). In this context, it is possible that Wamiran discourse on food and hunger does not only concern local threats to the possibility of community, but also provides the moral framework for engaging with a range of challenges coming from the wider world in which Wamirans now find themselves.

We are told, for example, that both those Wamirans who believe that famine was more acute in the past than in the present and those who believe the reverse attribute the change of fortune to the introduction of Western technology (pp. 36–37). Contrasts between themselves and

white people with regard to food's sociable uses appear to be an important means of Wamiran self-definition: "We are not like white people, we share our food" (pp. 41, 121; see also p. 27). Political discussion appears to be laced with references both to indigenous and to store-bought foods (pp. 136-137), but it is unclear whether "sugar," "rice," and such substitute unproblematically for local food categories in discourse, or whether they carry special meanings. Of the two types of feasting discussed in chapter 8—"incorporation" and "transaction" feasts—solidarity-reinforcing incorporation feasts appear to have become the means of integrating Western festivities like Christmas and birthdays into Wamiran culture (pp. 124-126). Local leaders with extensive experience in urban centers are active agents of this integration (p. 130): What does this signify?

Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of the importance of these themes is found in Kahn's account of her painful but very "educational" blunders in organizing her own going-away feast at the end of her first period of fieldwork. This account, mostly in chapter 8, effectively clarifies how feasting is a medium for defining and reproducing the political structure in Wamira. It also opens a window on Wamiran self-consciousness with respect to what distinguishes their own "customs" from those of whites, and what they are determined to preserve (e.g., p. 144). Kahn was encouraged by the Wamirans themselves to write about the turmoil her feast engendered; as one man said to her, "We are not fighting about you. We are arguing about our customs, our food distribution. Indeed, you should pay close attention to the details and write them all down!" (p. 145). Her account is extremely thought-provoking.

Considering the empirical complexity and theoretical importance of its central concerns, *Always Hungry, Never Greedy* is much too brief; this reader would have preferred the argument developed in more ethnographic detail throughout the book. The book's size does, however, make it a very good choice for courses on the Pacific, the anthropology of gender, and economic (or ecological) anthropology. It is engagingly written and, by means of a concrete, first-person style, also communicates a great deal about what anthropologists actually do in the field.

Raymond Goodman, Charles Lepani, and David Morawetz, *The Economy of Papua New Guinea: An Independent Review*. Pacific Policy Papers. Canberra: Development Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1985. Pp. 273, tables, charts, appendices, bibliography, index. A\$15.00, paper.

*Reviewed by Eugene Ogan, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities*

This work presents the findings of a committee commissioned in 1984 by the Papua New Guinea government to review that nation's economy, with special reference to progress made since the achievement of independence in 1975 and to proposals for future policy changes. The authors, drawn from the Australian and PNG governments and the ANU Development Studies Centre, composed the committee and drew on a variety of sources for information, including eleven background papers commissioned by the center.

The report proceeds from the general to the specific, beginning with a nineteen-page "Executive Summary." Each of the sixteen chapters that follow provides abundant detail, elaborating on the general remarks in the corresponding portions of the opening statement. The chapters, in turn, are grouped into sections on "The General Economy," "The Rural Economy," "Industry, Mining, and Commerce," and "Other Sectors and Issues." This organization is very helpful to the reader, who can move easily from a question or problem generated by the summary to the relevant details, often available in tabular format.

Since the strength of the work lies in these details, the reviewer is inclined to direct the reader to them without a great deal of comment. At the very least, what is presented here is a valuable overview of PNG economy at a particular point in time. Inevitably, events have overtaken some of the conclusions. (For example, the future of the Ok Tedi mine is referred to in pessimistic terms on pp. 9 and 135–139, but 1987 reports in Pacific business journals argue otherwise.) Nevertheless, anyone interested in the future of the largest and potentially most powerful Pacific island nation will gain from consulting this array of data.

It is at the general level of conclusions and recommendations that some readers may experience unease. The problem that political scientists, sociologists, cultural geographers, and anthropologists have with such reports as this lies in concern for the material that has perforce been left out. Although the authors are less guilty than some economists of writing as if economic institutions float free of political and sociocultural considerations (for example, they are clearly aware of the political obstacles to much-needed reform of the public service), their conclusions and recommendations are often stated as self-evident or unproblematic. To cite just one important recommendation: a national population-control policy has been a favorite of Western development economists for decades, but instituting such a policy in PNG is likely to face fierce opposition from mission-educated government ministers and

parliamentarians all the way down to village big-men who traditionally base their status and power on the number of clansmen they can rally.

This report, like others of its kind, ignores a wealth of material gathered at the grass-roots level that is directly relevant to the issues under consideration. Although the 1982 national survey of nutrition had not been published at the time of this economic review, there were many small-scale studies extant that could have provided greater depth to the relatively superficial treatment (pp. 77-81). Similarly, reasons for the failure of smallholder cattle projects may be "complex" (p. 82), but they can be clarified if one takes the trouble to consult such meticulous accounts as that by Lawrence Grossman for the Eastern Highlands.

Finally, nothing in the work under review seriously addresses the powerful critique of PNG's political economy before and after independence presented in Amarshi, Good, and Mortimer's *Development and Dependency* (Melbourne: O.U.P., 1979). One need not—and this reviewer certainly does not—accept the arguments of that earlier work in their entirety to express reservations about Goodman et al.'s recommendations for PNG's future. There are no doubt cogent economic arguments for allowing devaluation of the *kina*, lowering real wages, removing obstacles to foreign investment, and reserving government expenditure for the creation of infrastructure, narrowly defined. But shouldn't one at least raise questions about the dangers of returning economic—hence, ultimately, political—power to outsiders, of exacerbating urban-rural inequities, and of creating enduring class divisions in village communities more or less egalitarian by tradition?

If *The Economy of Papua New Guinea* does not (or even intend to) deal adequately with certain of these issues, it nonetheless provides abundant information to those who may wish to utilize, supplement, or challenge the conclusions presented. It will be of use to scholars and PNG politicians alike, though this reviewer hopes that all readers will treat its recommendations with caution.

Daniel J. Peacock, *Lee Boo of Belau: A Prince in London*. South Sea Books. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press and Pacific Islands Studies Program, 1987. Pp. 259, references, index. \$18.50.

Reviewed by Gary A. Klee, San Jose State University

*Lee Boo of Belau: A Prince in London* is the first in a series entitled South Sea Books, published by the University of Hawaii Press and the

university's Pacific Islands Studies Program. This new series is to include books of general interest that deal with Pacific islands and their cultures. Robert C. Kiste, the general editor, could not have chosen a better book to initiate the project.

Daniel J. Peacock's book is the fascinating, true story of a twenty-year-old island prince named Lee Boo who voyaged from his island home in Belau (Palau, Micronesia) to experience London society. It is an adventure that begins with the 1783 collision of an East India Company packet ship, the *Antelope*, on the reefs off Belau in the western Pacific. We learn how Captain Henry Wilson and his crew struggled to get ashore, how they coped with the unfamiliar tropical surroundings, and how they first met Lee Boo—the son of Abba Thulle, the high chief of Belau. Peacock then explains the circumstances that led Lee Boo to sail with Captain Wilson back to London. The remaining chapters are devoted to the fascination associated with a "noble savage" living amidst eighteenth-century London society. The story concludes with Lee Boo falling victim to smallpox (within six months of his arrival in London), his last days living along the Thames River, and some associated events that follow his death.

Peacock, a teacher-librarian with over twenty-six years of experience in Micronesia, should be highly commended for this wonderful portrayal of the life and times of Lee Boo of Belau. The book is beautifully written, well documented, and filled with wonderful illustrations. Specifically, there are four maps, thirty-four illustrations (including reproductions of the pen-and-ink drawings of student draftsmen aboard eighteenth-century English ships), thirty-eight pages of detailed notes, and an annotated bibliography of 235 citations.

Many will treasure this book. It will be appreciated by a variety of international scholars—particularly Pacific historians, cultural geographers, and cultural anthropologists. In addition, today's older Belauans will relish having such an important piece of local history accurately recorded, while the younger Belauan readers (particularly those who dream of "escaping" to America or Europe) will be fascinated by the adventures of this young Belauan.

This book is an encyclopedia of people, places, and events that remain in the memory banks of anyone who has lived in Belau. For such an individual, reading this book will be like revisiting an old friend. This reviewer, who has lived "amongst the Belauans," cannot recommend a book more highly.

- K. Buckley and K. Klugman, *South Pacific Focus: A Record in Words and Photographs of Burns Philp at Work*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin Australia, 1986. Pp. x, 126. A\$19.95.

*Reviewed by Doug Munro, Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, Toowoomba, Queensland*

To scan any Pacific historian's bookshelves is to realize that most monographs originate from the much-maligned Ph.D. dissertation. Another genre is emerging and that is the commissioned company history based largely on company records and often carrying the presumed authority of academic authorship. Company sponsorships of their own histories have tended to result in somewhat sanitized accounts, not as a consequence of direct censorship imposed by the company but through a subtle process of self-censorship. Commissioned biographies tend to suffer from the same constraint. Among these company histories are Ken Buckley and Kris Klugman's two stout volumes on the Australian mercantile-shipping company Burns Philp (1981, 1983), and their delightful sequel, *South Pacific Focus*.

*South Pacific Focus* is quite different from its predecessors. It brings together reports and photographs relating to Burns Philp's activities in the Marshall, Gilbert, and Ellice Islands at a time of intense trading competition and eventual political readjustment following the outbreak of World War I. The reports were written by Frederick Wallin, a senior company official based in Sydney; the photographs are thought to have been taken by Neville Chatfield, a more junior company man who became Burns Philp's manager at Butaritari in the Gilberts in 1913.

Together the reports and the photos contribute—although from very different perspectives—toward an understanding of the expatriate commercial milieu in the three atoll groups. By the early years of this century their populations were accustomed to traders and to a degree dependent upon them, not least because Christian missionaries had stimulated a demand for European imports. The relationship between Islanders, missionaries, and traders, moreover, was regulated by German colonial rule in the Marshalls and by British rule in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. A further element in this interrelationship of interests was the incidence of return labor migration, under government aegis, from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands to the phosphate extractive industries at Ocean Island and Nauru, which provided the returnees with cash and further stimulated expatriate trading activity. Whatever the

vagaries of copra production and world market prices the Marshall, Gilbert, and Ellice Islands possessed sufficient inducement to attract trading companies, both large and small, and Burns Philp did not have the field to itself. It was a complex trading arena of interlocking interests that Wallin attempted to describe and manipulate to his employer's best advantage.

Wallin's three reports of 1910 and 1915 were not written with an eye to posterity but as confidential documents for the company management in Sydney. Preparation of the first report, in particular, also provided Wallin with the opportunity for on-the-spot familiarization with his new responsibility. On that occasion he reported that the company should concentrate more on the Gilberts, which he considered to have the greatest potential. By 1915, however, the trading situation in the three island groups was far more volatile, given the escalation of competition and the complicating factor of great power rivalries with the onset of the world war.

The broad outlines of the scenario are well known, not least because of Buckley and Klugman's previous efforts. But a detailed appreciation of how the various outside influences impinged on life at the local level is not evident in the secondary sources. The Wallin reports add depth and detail to the existing picture. They do not go much beyond it, which is not surprising given Wallin's lack of familiarity with and awareness of the nuances of island life, though he was sensitive to the delicate balance between effort and reward that motivated the indigenous copra producers. On the contrary, he saw through the eyes of a head-office company official and so brought to bear the perspective of the institutional center in his descriptions of the hinterland. Writing from this standpoint, Wallin was especially well placed to impart much useful information on shipping routes, the importance of shipping generally, overall trading strategies, mail contracts, copra prices, negotiations with colonial authorities, and the activities of rival trading firms. And herein lies the value of the Wallin reports: the lack of local understanding is to some extent offset by the wider view that was presented.

At the same time Wallin's view was inherently narrow, however instructive. He was a company man to the core and ever one-eyed and parochial in the pursuit of his employer's interests. As such he brings into sharp focus a recurring paradox of large-company domination of the island trade. These companies preached the doctrine of free trade but practiced a thoroughgoing protectionism. None was more adept than Burns Philp at averring a commitment to free enterprise while in practice actively restricting competition and availing itself of preferen-

tial treatment from government. Thus Wallin spent much time on his tours securing mail contracts that would serve to subsidize the firm's trading operations, while at the same time presenting Burns Philp's part of the bargain as a patriotic act. In other ways, too, Wallin showed his true colors, notably in his assumption that Burns Philp's receiving preferential treatment from government (meaning that competitors were discriminated against) was obviously and irreproachably right. In the heart of every capitalist lurks a monopolist and a protectionist, and the Wallin reports highlight this contradiction in the thinking of the firms engaged in the island trade. The scenario unfolds like a chapter straight out of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

For these reasons and more the publication of the Wallin reports merits a warm welcome. Even so the book would have been a more useful research tool with a greater degree of editorial comment and annotation (the matter of inadequate editorial work has already been aired in *Pacific Studies* 9 [2]: 181–186). The extend to which the reports would have been enhanced by further editorial input is best conveyed by the reminder that comparatively little is known about the history of the Marshall, Gilbert, and Ellice Islands during the years of Wallin's oversight. To compensate, his reports should ideally be read with the relevant sections of Buckley and Klugman's previous two volumes on Burns Philp, and also with Alastair Couper's pioneering dissertation on "The Island Trade" (1967).

The final section of *South Pacific Focus* consists of a collection of photographs, most of which directly relate to Burns Philp's activities. They are grouped in sections (for example, copra loading, traders and trading, native officials, Burns Philp vessels and their crews, and rival firms). They are also explained and enlivened with comments by Neville Chatfield (who presumably took the photos) and by Harry and Honor Maude (who lived in the Gilberts during the 1930s and 1940s), and with quotations taken from Burns Philp's minute books.

The photographs have a scarcity value. Nineteenth-century photographers tended to steer clear of isolated atolls. Their equipment was cumbersome and at risk every time they went over the reef in a ship's boat or in a canoe, and the costs and hazards outweighed the gains. It is therefore a double misfortune that many of the photos that were taken have disappeared without a trace. In 1873 a photographer named A. Smith took passage on the schooner *Jessie Niccol* for a voyage through Micronesia and the Ellice Islands (*New Zealand Herald*, 10 December 1873); it is not known what became of his photographs and none appeared in the published account of the voyage (Wood 1875). In

1886 the schooner *Buster*, also of Auckland, made an extended trading voyage, calling at numerous Polynesian and Micronesian islands. The photographer on this occasion was a Mr. Andrews; some of his photographs appeared in the published account of the voyage (Moss 1889) and others in a trader's reminiscences (Dana 1935). But what has become of the rest? The answer to that question is well documented with respect to the three wide-ranging Pacific cruises of Robert Louis Stevenson and his entourage in 1888–1890. They were avid photographers and indeed Stevenson's pretext for embarking on the first cruise was to gather illustrative matter for a projected book on the South Seas. But a good half of their photographs were lost in a shipboard fire and others were never taken because one of their cameras fell overboard (Knight 1986:16). The remnants are housed in the Edinburgh City Libraries and a selection of the photographs from the 1890 voyage appeared in the published version of Fanny Stevenson's diary (Stevenson 1914). It is a cause of abiding regret that the early photographic record of Pacific atolls is so meager in contrast to North American Indians (e.g., Gidley 1979), but there are reasons. It is no accident that the most extensive nineteenth-century collection of photographs of the Ellice Islands was taken in 1897 by members of the Royal Society's coral-boring expedition, a shore-based operation. Some were published soon after (David 1899); the entire collection is housed in the Mitchell Library in Sydney.

Thus the collection of photographs in *South Pacific Focus* adds appreciably to this modest corpus. Added to their scarcity value is an intrinsic value, because they put a human face on Wallin's prosaic descriptions and go some way to providing the glimpse of island life that was beyond Wallin's reach. It would be altogether appropriate for an inexpensive paperback edition of the photographs to be prepared, with annotations in both the Kiribati and Tuvalu languages, for release in those places.

Burns Philp is to be commended for carrying the publication costs of this delightful volume. Ken Buckley and Kris Klugman are to be congratulated on producing a remarkable little book.

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